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HISTORY OF INDIA

UNDER

THE TWO FIRST SOVEREIGNS

OF

THE HOUSE OF TAIMUR,

BABER AND HUMÁYUN

BY WILLIAM ERSKINE, ESQ.,

TRANSLATOR OF "MEMOIRS OF THE EMPEROR BÂBER.

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HISTORY OF HUMÁYUN

BOOK FOURTH

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HISTORY OF INDIA.

BOOK FOURTH

FROM HUMÁYUN'S ACCESSION TO HIS EXPULSION FROM
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THE ADVANCE OF BEHÁDER SHAH — AND TÁTÁR KHAN LODI

WHEN Nasír-ed-dín Muhammed Humáyun succeeded his father, he was in the twenty-third year of his age * CHAP. I.
A D 1530

* He was born in the citadel of 1508, March 6) and mounted the
Kabul, A H 913, Zikada 4, (A D throne A H 937, Jemadi I 9 (A D

BOOK IV

A D 1530

Humáyun's
recession,

A H 937,

A D 1530,

Jemáál I 9
Dec 29Difficulties
of his
situation

He ascended the throne in the city of Agra, on the 29th of December, A D 1530, three days after the late Emperor's death. The usual solemnities followed, the chief nobility presented themselves at the Derbár, and tendered their allegiance, and money was scattered among the populace. The public prayers were read, and coin struck, in name of the new prince.

But, though the son of the great Báber thus mounted the throne of Agra, his situation was not free from danger and difficulty. Even in his own court, and in the army, all was not sound. In that age, the right of succession to the crown was very unsettled. Though the claim of the eldest son to succeed his father was acknowledged in a general way, the order of succession was not in practice rigidly adhered to. The public feeling was little hurt when any other of the sons, or an aspiring uncle, made his way to the throne. The sword was the grand arbiter of right, and every son was prepared to try his fortune against his brothers. The custom of granting large governments or appanages to the younger princes, gave them the means of asserting their ambitious pretensions by force, at the head of armies. In the present instance, other principles unfavourable to the regular succession were in operation. The conquest of Hindustán had been begun only five years before, and was still in progress. Humáyun had not latterly been employed in any military command in that country. The government was still, of course, military. The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghataí, Uzbek, Moghul, Persian, Afghán and Indian. Even the Chaghataí chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though

1530, Dec. 29) His mother was
Maham Begum, a relative of Sultan
Husein Mirza of Khorásán Ak-

bernama, f 35 v Was Máh-am,
"My Moon," a term of endearment
converted into a name?

attached to the family of Báber, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Taimúr, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution, and the kingdoms on every side,—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhára, Hissar, Balkh, and Hindustan itself,—saw the throne occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more distinguished than themselves. The length of time during which the late Emperor's health had been declining had given time for parties and intrigues to be formed among them, which his talents and respected name had hitherto prevented from bursting out, but which were not the less dangerous on that account. We have seen by what a minute accident a plan of the prime minister himself, for setting aside Báber's son altogether, had been defeated. Syed Mehdi Khwája, the candidate in whose favour he had acted, seems to have been of a religious family, was a son-in-law of Báber, and known to the army, a division of which he had often led. Muhammed Zemán Mírza, another great lord of the court, and a descendant of Taimúr, being a grandson of the celebrated Sultan Husain Mírza Bukhá of Khorásán, and who had also married a daughter of Báber, was supposed to have in his interest a formidable party, consisting of many of the most powerful men in the army. He was a man of talent, and had been employed by the late Emperor in many important commands. Muhammed Sultan Mírza, also a descendant of Taimúr and grandson of the late Sultan of Khorásán by a daughter, was a third nobleman, who, from his royal birth and high station, was thought worthy to aspire to the throne. All had their followers and adherents. The very supposition that such men might be placed in hostility to the legal heir, rendered their position dangerous, and it might in some circumstances seem safer to incur the immediate

Competi-
tors for the
throne

BOOK IV

A D 1530

risks of revolt than to endure the lingering annoyances and real dangers of suspicion. Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to blow the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.

Unsettled
state of the
Empire

Nor was it only in the court and in the camp that dangers were to be apprehended. The Empire was far from being yet consolidated, when Báber died. It was only five years since that able prince had entered India, and, during that period, his life had been too busily employed, in military expeditions, to admit of his devoting the needful time to settling the details of the internal administration of the kingdoms that he had conquered. He had entered the country as a stranger and a spoiler, he had defeated the armies and broken the power of the reigning dynasty, but the only hold which he, or his race, yet had upon the people of India was military force. Of the two great classes of which the population of India was composed, the Hindus could have little unity of feeling with their Muhammedan conquerors. Both religions are, in their particular ways, exclusive. The Hindus admit of no proselytes, regard all strangers, even their rulers, as not only far behind them in the road to final happiness, but as, at best, only successful barbarians, many of whose habits they view with disgust and abhorrence. The Musulman, too, though eager for proselytism, is an exclusive religion, which looks with hatred or contempt on every other, and is very unfavourable to the existence of much sympathy between the believing lord and the infidel subject, especially where that subject adds to his other crimes that of idolatry. But the difficulty was not less, even with the old Muhammedans. India, for centuries, had been governed by Muhammedan dynasties of foreign descent. The last of these had been the Afghán, and chiefs of that race, with their followers, were scattered all over the kingdom, and held the most important offices and the most valuable

Formidable
power of
the Af-
gháns.

jágis These they considered as their birth-right, and they were indignant that so noble a prize, so long enjoyed as an inheritance, should be wrested from them. Though repeatedly defeated in the field, they were still numerous and powerful, ripe for revolt, and ready on the first signal to fly to arms, in what was a personal as well as a national cause. They had also the advantage of possessing a rallying point. The cause of Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, the brother and successor of the late Sultan Ibráhím, was still supported by Baban and Bayezíd, the old heads of the Afghán nobility, who, though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Behár, were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return, and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled, and their countryman Shír Khan, one of the ablest men of the age, had already taken up arms in Behár and Bengal, about the close of Báber's reign.

CHAP. I
A.D. 1530

Of the princes and states beyond the limits of the Empire, the King of Bengal was friendly to the Afgháns and had given protection to Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, whose daughter he afterwards married. The Rájpúts, though stunned by their late discomfiture, were powerful still, and, though the kingdom of Málwa at that moment possessed little strength,—being in a state of deplorable confusion from the intestine factions that had long torn it to pieces, and made it a prey to its neighbours,—yet, in Gujrát, Beháder Shah was fast rising into power, had added to his territories on every side, and, from the mere extension of his conquests, was likely soon to come into direct collision with the Emperor of Delhi.*

Foreign
relations.

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of deep importance. If we remove the glare of eulogy thrown over the actions of all Asiatic

Character
of Humáy-
un

* Abulfazl, in the Akbernáma, Baber's Memoirs, *passim* Tarikh-e Khafi Khan, Ferishta,

BOOK IV

A D. 1530

sovereigns by the historians who wrote in their own time, or in that of their immediate descendants, we shall find that Humáyun, though a prince of lively parts and elegant accomplishments, brave, and on the whole of a humane temper, was volatile, fond of pleasure, and deficient in those enlarged views so necessary for conducting the affairs of an extensive Empire, as well as in that decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can secure the respect and confidence of his subjects

Provision
for his
brothers

One of Humáyun's first acts was to assign *jágírs* to be held by his brothers. Kámrán he confirmed in the kingdoms of Kábul and Kandahár, which seem to have been bestowed on him by his father. To Askeri Mírza he allotted the province of Sambhal; and that of Alwar or Mewát to Hindal Mírza. He confirmed his cousin Suleimán Mírza in the government of the little kingdom of Badakhshán. His nobles, and the army, he conciliated, as is usual with Asiatic princes at the commencement of a new reign, by conferring on them titles, *khiláts*, and other marks of honour, and by munificent largesses.

Pretensions of
Kámrán,

who advances to-
wards Hindustán,
A H 938,
A D 1531

But the want of union among the brothers was not long of showing itself. No sooner did Kámrán, who was at Kábul, hear of his father's death, than, disdaining the ample dominions he had enjoyed under his father, and in the possession of which his brother had consented to confirm him, he consigned Kandahár to Askeri, collected an army, and, in the true spirit of brotherhood among Asiatic princes, marched for Hindustán, under pretence of congratulating Humáyun on his accession, but in reality to try the strength of his sword, and to see whether his own good fortune might not raise him to the throne of Delhi itself. Humáyun, alarmed at the news of his motions, and harassed by the dangers that surrounded him, despatched an envoy to meet the Mírza, and to announce to him his intention of adding

the countries of Pesháwer and Lamghán to the territories which he already enjoyed. But Kámrán's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession. He crossed the Indus, and, having traversed the greater part of the Penjáb, drew near to Lahúr, the capital.

CHAP. I
A. D. 1531

There he found that Mír Yúnis Ali, who had been the governor under Báber, was faithful to his trust, and adhered to Humayun. To have bestowed the time necessary for reducing the capital of the Penjab by regular military operations, might have been fatal to his enterprise. To gain possession of it without delay therefore, Kámrán resorted to stratagem. Having arranged his plan, he one night affected to be violently offended with Keracha Beg, one of his chief Amírs, and publicly, in the Darbar, reviled him in the most harsh and unmeasured terms. Next night the Beg fled from the camp with all his followers and sought refuge in Lahúr. In those days of versatile and unstable allegiance, such a defection had in it nothing uncommon. Mír Yúnis Ali, delighted to have gained a man of so much consequence, went out of the city with an honorary procession to meet and welcome him. He afterwards treated the Beg not merely as a political, but as a personal friend, gave him constant invitations to partake of the hospitality of his table, and made several social and friendly parties for his amusement. Keracha Beg coolly watched his time, till, one night, after a convivial entertainment at the Mír's palace, where, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, the soldiers had been allowed to go home to their quarters, he seized his opportunity, perfidiously took his host into custody, got possession of one of the gates and despatched messengers to Kámrán to announce his success. The Mírza, who had been waiting with much anxiety, no sooner learned the result of the stratagem, than he hastened to the gate with a strong force and entered Lahúr.

Captures
Lahur

BOOK IV

A D 1531

without resistance Mír Yúnis Ah was then relieved from custody, and Kámrán, who wished to give the whole proceeding the air, not of a conquest, but of an ordinary assumption of the government, apologising to Yúnis Ah for the violence he unwillingly employed, asked him to enter his service, and to retain the office he had held. This the Mír declined, and was allowed to leave the city and to join Humáyun.

And occurs the
Penjáb
A D 938,
A D 1531
-2

After this first success, Kámrán took possession of all the neighbouring provinces, so that, in a short time, the whole of the Penjáb, as far as the Sutlej, acknowledged his authority.

Concessions
of Humá-
yun.

Still, however, as if nothing uncommon had occurred, and as if he had been acting all along like a faithful subject, he continued, by his ambassadors, to assure Humáyun of his attachment and fidelity, and, at the same time, petitioned, in the humblest terms, to be allowed to hold the territory of which he had thus become possessed. The Emperor, who, before these transactions were brought to a conclusion, had become involved in troubles and difficulties on every hand, affected to accede cheerfully to a request, which he could not without danger refuse. He signified his assent, and, to save appearances, ascribed his large concessions to the ties of kindred which united them, and the wishes expressed by their late father. After some delay, a firmán was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kámrán the government of Kábul, Kandahár, and the Penjáb, a grant which exalted that prince to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own. Kámrán, who had a turn for poetry, delighted with the success of his schemes of ambition, in the fulness of his joy, addressed several odes to Humáyun, in which he exhausted all the powers of song to express his gratitude. The Emperor, either flattered by his high-flown praises, or to gain time and to confirm him in his pacific dispositions, farther rewarded the royal poet by bestowing

on him, what seems a most imprudent grant, the rich province of Hissá-Firóza, an acquisition the more acceptable to the Mirza as it lay nearly on the high road between his possessions in the Punjab and Delhi. Each probably attempted to deceive the other. At all events, a friendship founded on such a basis could be neither sincere nor lasting. These transactions with Kámran*, which occupied a considerable part of two years, have been recorded in this place, to avoid interrupting the future course of the narrative.

Before his relations with Kámran began to bear a threatening aspect, Humáyun, about five or six months after his accession, had set out to besiege the strong fort of Kalinjer, in Bandelkand†, the possession of which was necessary at once to strengthen his frontier, and to open an easier communication between Malwa and his dominions on the Jamna and the Ganges. The Raja of Kalinjer was probably in the interest of the Afghans. When Humáyun had blockaded the fort about a month, and had made some progress in his advances, he was alarmed by the information that Sultan Mahmúd Lodí, supported by Biban Khan Jilwámi and Sheikh Bayezid, the most eminent leaders of the Afgháns, had again invaded the provinces east of the Ganges, had taken Jhánpúr, and was overrunning the country in great force. Eager to meet the invaders, he proposed a treaty to the Raja of Kalinjer, who gladly gave a large sum of money to hasten his retreat‡.

Humáyun, on leaving Kalinjer, directed his course to the eastward, crossed the Ganges, and reached the

CHAP. I

A. D. 1531

A. H. 937
-9,
A. D. 1531
-2

Campaign
against
Kalinjer
A. H. 937
Shawal or
Zilkadger,
A. D. 1531
May or
June

And to the
Eastward

* Akbernama, f 35—37, Khafi Khan. Some specimens of Kamran's verses may be found in the Akbernama, f 37.

† The siege of Kalinjer, according to the Akbernama, occurred in A. H. 937, according to Ferishta, A. H. 938. As Humáyun seems to have left Agra in the last months of

937, had afterwards to march to Bandelkand, and lay a month before the fort, he must have raised the siege in A. H. 938.

‡ Akbernámá, Tabakát-i-Akberi, f 173, 174, Kholaset-ul-Fowarikh, f 255, Kháfí Khan, Abulfazl, f 35, says twelve mans of gold and other valuable considerations.

BOOK IV
A.D. 1531-2.

town of Doura, when he was met by the Afgháns in great force. A battle ensued, in which Sheikh Bayezíd was slain, and Sultan Mahmúd and his Afgháns completely dispeised, as his friends affirmed, by the treachery of Shír Khan. Mahmúd was soon after expelled from the province of Juánpúr, and fled to Patna and Bengal, whence he never returned, and where he died a natural death.*

Humáyún
returns to
Agra.

A. H. 938,
Jemádi I.
9

A. D. 1531,
Dec. 19

Campaign
against
Chunár

A. H. 938,
A. D. 1532

The Emperor, having defeated this invasion, settled the country, and reinstated Sultan Juned Birlás as his lieutenant in the government, returned to Agra, where, on the anniversary of his accession, he gave a grand entertainment, in the course of which, besides rich presents and other gratifications to his nobles, in elephants, jewels, &c, he is said to have distributed among the officers of his court and army no less than twelve thousand khiláts, or honorary dresses, two thousand of which were richly embroidered and ornamented with precious stones†

The most important object of policy for the Emperor of Delhi at this moment, next to that of crushing the seeds of rebellion in his own family and court, was undoubtedly to break in pieces the power still possessed by the Afgháns throughout India, and to become master, if possible, of the course of the Ganges. To secure these objects, the Emperor soon afterwards again took the field, and marched towards the fort of Chunár, in the province of Behár, a place of extraordinary strength, and one of the most important positions on that river. It was now held by the celebrated Shír Khan, who, since the defeat and flight of Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, had risen to the first distinction

* Kholáset-ul-Towárikh, f. 255
In the translation of Jouber, the battle is said to have been fought on the banks of the Goompty. Mem. of Humáyún, p. 3. In the original, it is said to have been at "Daurch

on the river Sini," probably an error of the transcriber for Gumti. No date is given, nor are Kalunjer or Juánpur mentioned.
† Tabákát-i-Alkber, f. 144, Ferishta, ii. 72

among the Afghans. Formerly it had belonged to Sultan Ibráhim, but soon after his defeat and death had submitted to Baber, as we have seen, and, by a series of events to be afterwards mentioned, had very recently passed into the hands of its present master Humayun, desirous both to possess the fort and to humble the owner, had sent a large force in advance to invest it, and now himself followed and laid close siege to it, at the head of a formidable army. At his approach, Shír Khan, leaving his son, Jilál Khan, in the fortress with a strong garrison of trusty adherents, retired to the higher grounds, and hovered round the imperial camp, for the double purpose of harassing it and of succouring the besieged. After the blockade had lasted three or four months, Humayun, who, fortunately for the Afghan chiefs, was surrounded by enemies, received intelligence, with some alarm, of the rapid progress made by Beháder Shah, the King of Gujrát, in Malwa and Nagor. Shír Khan, seizing the favourable moment, sent ambassadors to the Emperor to sue for peace, to express the Khan's gratitude to the Emperor and his illustrious father, by whose patronage he had attained his present rank, to make professions of submission, and such offers as, while they saved the dignity of the sovereign, left the Khan in possession of his stronghold. Humayun, little disposed to protract a siege which might be drawn out to a very inconvenient length, and had already interfered with most important objects, concluded a capitulation with Shír Khan, who was perfectly willing to make ample promises, flattering himself, that when the imperial troops were withdrawn, it would cost him nothing to act as he pleased, and to pursue his own policy, unfettered by any flimsy treaty that had been forced upon him. A peace was, therefore, concluded, by the terms of which he agreed, that his son, Kutb Khan, should join the Emperor's army, with a body

CHAP. I
A.D. 1531-2

Interrupted
by the pro-
gress of Be-
hader Shah

Nominal
capitulation
of Shír
Khan

BOOK IV
A.D. 1532-3

of Afgháns; and the young prince, accordingly, along with Isa Khan Hiyáb Sirwám, his vizier, did wait upon Humáyun, and accompany him on his march into Gujrát. While there, Shír Khan having found the time favourable for revolt, and Humáyun being busy reducing that province, Kutb Khan contrived to make his escape, and rejoined his father *

Embassy
from Be-
háder Shah,
A.D. 939,
A.D. 1532
-3

On relinquishing the siege of Chunár, Humáyun returned to Agra, where he gave audience to an embassy that Beháder Shah had sent, for the purpose of quieting any apprehensions which he might entertain in consequence of the rapid progress that prince was making in Málwa, and in the Rájpút territories. This mission he received with much pleasure, as circumstances rendered it important that his declared enemies should be as few as possible. He dismissed the ambassadors with every mark of distinction, and with assurances of his own pacific intentions, and turned himself to averting the dangers which threatened him in his own court and in the heart of his dominions.

Muham-
med Zemán
Mírza,

The Emperor had long entertained a jealousy of Muhammed Zemán Mírza's ambitious projects, and now resolved to take away from him all means of carrying them into execution. It has been mentioned that he was the son of Badi-*ez-zemán* Mírza, and grandson of the famous Sultan Husein Mírza Bahra, of Khoiásán. After his father's kingdom had passed into the hands of the Uzbeks, he had resided at the court of Páber, with whom he is said to have been a particular favourite, and had married one of his daughters. He

* Akbarnama, f. 42, Ferishta, ii pp. 110-113, Jouher, c. 2, Tar Khafi Khan, Tabakat i-Akberi, f. 174, Tar Nizami, f. 213, Nisábname Afgh. f. 88, Far Bed f. 117. The Tabakat, Nisabnama, Ferishta, Khafi Khan, and the original text of Jouher, call this

young prince Kutb Khan. Abul-fazl calls him Abdal Reshid, and is followed in the translation of Jouher. The Kholiset-ul-Towarikh, f. 275, solves the mystery, calling him "Kutb Khan, generally known as Abdal-Reshid."

had been honoured with the most important commands. Many of the northern Chaghatái chiefs, who formed the Emperor's great strength, had much influence in his court and filled the chief offices in the country, were attached to this prince. We have seen that, in the late reign, he held the government of Behái. The events that preceded his imprisonment are not known with much certainty. Abulnázl asserts, that he formed a party and carried on intrigues in conjunction with his cousin, Muhammed Sultan Míza, also a grandson of Sultan Husein Míza, but by a daughter, as well as with Muhammed's son, Ulugh Míza, with whom at this crisis he rose in rebellion a second time, after having been once pardoned, that, to check this revolt, Humayun led an army down the Ganges, and, when opposite to Blimpin, sent a strong detachment across to the right bank of the river, under the command of his cousin, Yádgár Násir Míza, who defeated the rebels, and made Muhammed Zaman, Muhammed Sultan, and Wáli Khub Míza, prisoners.* The narrative of other historians makes it more probable that the Emperor, acting on his belief or suspicion of their treasonable designs, had arrested the first of these princes, in his government of Behái, by means of an armed force, before any rising took place, and afterwards seized the others as his accomplices. Muhammed Zaman, on his earnest professions of fidelity, was pardoned, and sent under the custody of Yádgár Taghái Beg to be imprisoned in Bána, but he had not been long there before he wrought upon his keeper not only to allow him to escape, but to accompany him in his flight. He reached the court of Beháder Shah, where he was well received. Muhammed Sultan Míza, with his sons, Ulugh and Shah Mízas, when thrown into prison, were ordered to be blinded by the fire pencil,

CHAP I

A D 1533 4

A H 940
A D 1533 4Suspected
and im-
prisoned,escapes to
GuzratMuham-
med Sultan
Míza and
his sons

BOOK IV

A D 1534

that so an end might be put to their public life, but, from the indulgence of the operator, it was so lightly applied that the structure of their eyes remained unimpaired. They, too, effected their escape from prison, about the same time, and hastened to Kanauj, where Muhammed Sultan soon saw himself at the head of a respectable army of six thousand men,—Chaghlatius, Afgháns, and Rájpúts *

Progress of
Beháder
Shah,
A D 941,
A D 1534

While Humáyun was occupied at home in dreamy speculations of false science, and by dangers within and without his court, which he found it difficult to avert, the King of Gujrát was pursuing his victorious career. So decisive were the advantages which he gained over the Rána of Cheitúr, whom, after over-running Malwa, he now attacked in his own dominions, that he was emboldened to advance and lay siege to Cheitúr itself, the capital of the Rájpút. The Rána, in his distress, despatched an envoy to ask succour from Humáyun, who could not see with indifference the rapid progress of a rival rendered more odious to him by the protection which he ostentatiously afforded to the refugees from Delhi. Humáyun, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army, as far as Gualhár, as if to assist the Rána. There he encamped

* Briggs's *Ferishta*, ii p 73, Khafi Khan, f 40, *Tabakát-i Akbari*, f 115. Abulfazl and Ferishta do not mention that Muhammed Zaman was ordered to be blinded, which the author of the *Tabakát-i Akbari*, and of the *Tarikh-i-Bedauni* do. The former says, that they did not injure the organisation of the iris of his eye, so that he soon recovered his sight (f 115), and is followed by the *Kholasat ul-Tawarikh*, f 275. There were two modes at that time employed in blinding princes, who were the objects of jealousy. By the one, the

eye itself was cut with a lancet by the other, a heated plate, or sometimes a heated pencil of brass or iron was applied to it, till the sight was destroyed. The latter was often preferred in the case of princes, since, the form of the eyeball not being destroyed, the appearance of the countenance was less injured. There is some disagreement among historians as to the chronology of these events. I have followed the leading authorities in the way that seems to me best fitted to reconcile this difference.

for about two months, and despatched an ambassador to Behader to demand that he should desist from his enterprise against Cheitûn, and, at the same time, deliver up the traitors who had fled from the Emperor's dominions. Neither demand was complied with, and the Emperor, with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, being compelled by the necessity of his affairs to march toward Juánpûr and the Behár provinces, to repress new disturbances which had arisen in that quarter. The Rana, upon this, despaning of any effectual assistance, was glad to purchase the temporary retreat of Behader Shah, by consenting to pay a large sum of money, and by sending him as a propitiatory offering, a celebrated crown and belt adorned with jewels of immense value*, and other costly presents.

Humayun determined to employ the interval of quiet, which this pacification promised to afford, in putting an end to the perpetual invasions and insurrections of the Afgháns of Behár, and in punishing his own rebel-

Measures against the Afgháns of Behar

* These are said to have been the crown and regalia which Sultan Mahmud of Malwa carried off from the tent of Kutb Shah of Gujrat (A. D. 856, Sefer 1, A. D. 1452, Feb 27) and which fell into the hands of Rana Sanga of Cheitur, on the defeat of Sultan Mahmud II of Malwa, about A. D. 925 (A. D. 1519). Ferishta, iv. pp. 39, 263. It will be afterwards seen that, from Behader Shah, they were said to have passed to Soliman the Magnificent, Emperor of Constantinople.

There seems some difficulty, however, in the transmission of these regalia. "When Rana Sanga defeated Sultan Mahmud, and made him prisoner," says Biber, (Mem. p. 385), "the Sultan had on a splendid crown-cap and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the pagan, who, when he set Sultan Mahmud at liberty, retained them

They were now with Bikermyit. His elder brother, Ruttonsi, who had succeeded his father as Rana, and who was now in possession of Cheitur, had sent to desire his younger brother to deliver them up to him, which he refused to do. By the envoys, who came from him to wait on me, he now sent me (Quoted) "this crown and golden girdle and asked Biara in exchange for Rintambor &c. We nowhere hear of their being regained from Baber or his successor. Yet the Mirat-e Ahmedi, agreeing with or following Ferishta, makes Bikermyit's mother give this very "waistband and jewelled crown, which had been captured from Mahmud Khilji I, of Malwa, when the Rana defeated him" to Behader Shah, to induce him to raise the siege. Bird's transl. p. 244.

BOOK IV

A D 1534

Arrested by
the advance
of Beháder
Shah and
Tátár
Khan Lo. I.

lous nobles. For this purpose, having collected a large army, he once more marched from Agra, and had reached Kinár, in the district of Kalpi, on the Jamna, when his progress was arrested by the intelligence that Beháder Shah had again laid siege to Chertúr, and that, supported by him, Tátár Khan, the son of Sultan Alá-ed-dín Lodi, the uncle and rival of the late Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, was advancing, at the head of a formidable army, to assert his father's claim to the throne of Delhi itself. He hastened back to Agra, and took immediate measures for repelling the aggression, and for hurling back the danger on the head of Beháder Shah *, whose success seemed now to threaten ruin to the house of Taimúr. But, as Malwa and Gujrát are soon to become the scene of important operations, it becomes necessary to interrupt for a while the course of the narrative, in order to give some idea of the political state of these countries at this period.

* Tabakát-i-Akberi, f 145, Ferishta, ii 72—74. The Akbernáma, f 35—37 does not mention the two months' encampment at Gualíár.

CHAPTER II

AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA

SECTION I

EARLY HISTORY OF THOSE KINGDOMS — PROGRESS OF
BHĪLĀDER SHAH

DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE UNDER SULTAN MUHAMMAD TOGHĀK
— KINGDOM OF GUJRÁT — KINGDOM OF MALWA — PROSPERITY OF
GUJRÁT — ITS IMPORTANCE — STATE OF MALWA — POSITION OF
THE EARLY MUSLIMANS IN INDIA — PRINCE OF MALWA —
MAHMUD II — INTRIGUES OF MOHĪZ KHAN — INTRODUCTION OF
MEDINI RAO — RĀJĀT LIAQUAT AT THE COURT OF MALWA —
KINGS OF DELHI AND GUJRÁT INTERFERE — DEFENSIVE MEASURES
OF MEDINI RAO — THE RĀJPUTS ALL-POWERFUL IN MALWA —
MAHMUD ATTEMPTS THEIR DISMISSAL — IS DISCOMFITED — ESCAPES
TO GUJRÁT — HIS RESTORATION — EXPEDITION AGAINST THE RE-
FRACTORY RĀJPUTS, AND DEFEAT — DISMEMBERMENT OF MALWA
— BHĪLĀDER SHAH IN GUJRÁT — RĀNA RUTTONSI AND BHĪLĀDER
SHAH IN MALWA — MĀNDU TAKEN — BHĪLĀDER SHAH PROCLAIMED
KING — PARTITION OF MALWA — CAPTURE OF SILĀH-ED-DĪN BY
BHĪLĀDER — CATASTROPHE OF RAISEN — FURTHER SUCCESSES OF
BHĪLĀDER SHAH

THE kingdoms both of Malwa and Gujrát, at a former period, nearly a century and a half before the time of Humáyun, had been included in the kingdom of Delhi. About the close of the fourteenth century, on the decline of the Toghlok dynasty, when the empire fell to pieces, many of the provinces, and among others Gujrát and Malwa, became independent sovereignties. The insane violence and brutal cruelty of Sultan Muhammed

CHAP. II.
SECT. I.

Disruption
of the em-
pire, under
Sultan
Muham-
med Togh-
lak.

BOOK IV

Toghlak of Delhi had spread universal alarm over his dominions. Having, by his profusion, exhausted the treasury, he imposed taxes beyond what his subjects could bear. He rigidly enforced them, and the landholders and peasantry, to escape from his tyranny, fled to the woods and wastes. He tampered with the coin, and the distress and ruin, which in all circumstances follow an injudicious meddling with the currency, were soon experienced. He attempted to remove the population and city of Delhi to Doulatábád in the Dekhan; and thousands of the wretched inhabitants perished on the road and after their arrival, of fatigue, want and misery in every shape. Famine, civil war, robbery, murder, and anarchy, all over his dominions, marked the close of his reign. Driven to desperation by misgovernment, each district and province was forced to provide separately for its own safety, so that, from the mere necessity of substituting some kind of government for the misrule and rapine that prevailed, several new dynasties arose in the principal provinces of the empire.

Kingdom of
Gujrát.
A D 793,
A D 1391

The nobleman who at that crisis rose to be King of Gujrát was Mozeffer Khan. His origin is uncertain. While some describe him as having been the son of a low spirit-distiller, or water-carrier, others, with more probability, represent him as the son of a Hindu chief converted to Muhammedanism*. The menial office, which he is said to have filled in the palace, argues little, as men of rank in all countries have been eager to fill offices nominally menial, about the person of the sovereign, and Báber†, a judicious and careful reader of history, describes the employment to have been that of cup-bearer. The disorders which at that period pervaded India, and the consequent confusion and indistinctness in the narrative of the historians of the time,

* Ferishta, vol iv p 3

† Mem p 311

leave us rather uncertain as to the extent of Gujrát, when its governor assumed the symbols of royalty. His capital was Nehrwlá or Patan, but what now forms the southern part of the province did not then belong to it. The new King, however, an active and able man, speedily compelled the various Rajas of Kattiawár, and the western peninsula, to acknowledge his authority, and to pay tribute. He, likewise, turned his arms against the Raja of Eder, and expelled him from his dominions.

CHAP. II.
SECT. I.

Emboldened by this success, he ventured at a future time to invade Malwa. That country had also recently undergone a revolution, similar to what had occurred in Gujrát, and from the same causes. Diláwer Khan, a Ghúri Afghán, from governor had become king, and his son Hosheng now reigned. A strong party, however, opposed his government, and called in to their assistance Mozeffer Shah of Gujrát, who readily marched to their aid. The hostile armies met near the ancient town of Dhár in Malwa, and, after a desperate battle, in which Mozeffer was wounded and Hosheng unhorsed, victory declared for the invader, and Hosheng was forced to take refuge in Dhár, where he was besieged, and soon after compelled to surrender. Mozeffer, leaving a part of his army in Malwa, to retain it in subjection, returned with his prisoner to Gujrát. But he had hardly turned his back on his new conquest, when, the officers whom he had left in command having made some burdensome exactions on the inhabitants, the party that had called him in, who wanted an ally not a master, rose and expelled his troops, setting up a king of their own. This change of affairs induced him to release Sultan Hosheng from confinement, and to send him, accompanied by a strong force, to assert his rights, and the different internal parties, tired of the evils which civil war had brought on their country,

Kingdom of
Malwa.

A. H. 810,
A. D. 1407

A. H. 811,
A. D. 1408.

BOOK IV

soon after united, and once more acknowledged Hosheng as King of Malwa

Prosperity
of Gujrát,
A II 815-
847,
A D 1412
-1443

After the death of Mozeffer Shah, several of his descendants increased the territory of Gujrát. His grandson, Ahmed Shah, a very distinguished prince, and the founder of Ahmedábád, reduced under his power nearly the whole country that forms the present Gujrát, including the low lands to the south below the Gháts, the Northern Kokan, and the island of Bombay, he forced the Rajas of the western peninsula, and other chiefs bordering on his dominions, especially the Raja of Champanír, who, it is affirmed*, could at that time bring sixty thousand men into the field, to pay tribute, and he carried his victorious arms in different campaigns into Khándesh, and Málwa, the capital of which he besieged. Under him, and his immediate successors, Gujrát obtained a high degree of prosperity.

A II 863-
917,
A D 1459-
1511

One of them, Mahmúd Shah Bigara, was particularly successful. He besieged and took the strong and, in the opinion of the natives, impregnable hill-forts of Gírnál or Júnagar, and of Champanír†, he did much to consolidate the kingdom within, and without, he extended his marches in different expeditions, as far as the Indus on one side, and Doulatábád in the Dekhan on the other, at the same time that he carried on an active war, by sea and land, with the Portuguese.

A II 917-
932,
A D 1511-
1526

A II 932
Ramzán
26
A D 1526
July 6

His son, Mozeffer Shah II maintained the glory of his arms. He restored the King of Malwa to the throne of that kingdom, from which he had been expelled by a combination of Rájpút chiefs, taking Mándu from them by storm. To this prince, with the intervention of the short reigns of two of his brothers, Sultan Be-

* Ferishta, iv p 66

† It is pretended that the reduction of these two strong hill-forts gave rise to Mahmúd's appellation of Bigara (from *ba*, two,

and *gar*, a fort). Ferishta mentions another and more probable origin, namely, the colour of his mustachios.

hider Shah had succeeded, and now swayed the sceptre of Gujrát

CHAP II
SECT I

That kingdom had always an extraordinary influence over the neighbouring states, and could raise armies, and subsidise troops, with a facility apparently disproportioned to its extent. But few countries in the world are more blest in a fertile soil and a favourable climate, and the possession of the great emporia of Cambay, Dm, and Surat, besides other convenient harbours, had enriched it with the most active commerce of any portion of India. The greater part of the trade of that country with Persia, Arabia, Africa, the Red Sea, and Europe, besides an active coasting trade, passed through its harbours, and the various commodities imported from these regions were conveyed over Hindustan, and the north of the Dekhan, through its provinces, and by its merchants. The benefit of this trade overflowed upon the country, which became a garden, and enriched the treasury of the prince. The noble mosques, colleges, palaces and tombs, the remains of which still adorn Ahmedábad, and its other cities, to this day, while they excite the admiration of the traveller, prove both the wealth and the taste of the founders.

Its importance

The same circumstances which, on the decline of the Toghíak dynasty of Delhi, induced the governor of Gujrát to assert his independence, had, as has been noticed, a similar effect on Diláwer Khan, the governor of Malwa, who also assumed the sovereign power in his capital of Dhár. We have seen his son Hosheng defeated and made prisoner, and again restored to his kingdom by the Sultan of Gujrát. Hosheng Ghúni was the founder of Mándu. After his death, the intrigues in his court led to the murder of his successor, and the son of his prime minister was raised to the throne, under the title of Sultan Mahmúd Khiljí*. He was an

State of Malwa.

A II 804
A D 1401

* Have the *Khiljí* monarchs any connection with the *Ghíjí* Afghans? They are generally described as Turks

BOOK IV

A D 839,

A D 1436

able prince ; but the country, in consequence of the dissensions that always attend a change of dynasty, was harassed for some time by civil wars. The weakness of the kings of Delhi, at this period, enabled Sultan Mahmúd to extend his dominions on different sides, and he reduced the important forts and districts of Bhílsa, Chándéri, and Hoshengábád in Malwa. He carried his arms into the centre of the Rájpút states, reduced Kambelmér in Mewár, and besieged the mountain capital of Cheitúr. He even aspired to the throne of Delhi, and engaged in war, not only with the King of Gujrát, but with the kings of the Dekhan, of Khándesh, and of Juánpúr, with which last he had quarreled about the possession of Kalpi on the Jamna. He levied contributions on Kota and Biána, and added Mandsúr, Mandelgar, Búndi and Rantambór to his dominions. At one time, he overran Gujrát, but was finally defeated, near Ahmedábád, and compelled to retreat from that country. He was one of the most distinguished princes of his age, and, in his reign, Malwa attained the summit of its power and glory.

Position of
the early
Musulmans
in India.

Much of the time of all the Musulman kings of India, and among others of the Sultans of Malwa, seems to have been employed in reducing to subjection the half-independent Hindu chiefs in or bordering on their states. The Musulmans had no hold of the country, but by military force. Their capital was a camp, and the different towns and forts that they occupied, were posts in an enemy's country. The great mass of the population had no sympathy with them, either in religion or civil policy. The popular religion was considered by their conquerors as a guilty idolatry, which it was, to a certain degree, sinful even to tolerate; and pious or bigoted princes were often led to persecute their pagan subjects. They had no general system for conducting their internal government. The will of the ruler, capricious and uncertain at best, but to which

LIFE OF HUMÁYUN

FOR- CHAP II.
SECT I

there was no check, was the acknowledged rule * Fortunately, the old inhabitants were strongly attached to their own system of village and district government, which remedied many of the evils of political neglect and oppression to which they were exposed, and they continued to be warmly devoted to such of their native chiefs as still maintained their authority in their hereditary states. As the Musulmans extended their power, first by arms, and afterwards gradually by colonisation and proselytism, the range of territory enjoyed by these little Hindu chieftains was gradually diminished, and the power of many of them was, in the end, altogether extinguished. The superiority of the Musulmans increased every day. The causes of this were various. They were strangers, and felt that their power, and in some degree their existence, in India, depended upon their mutually supporting each other. They were bigots to their religion, and thus bigotry, which was increased by their being placed among infidels and heathens, whom they regarded as the enemies of God, and whose lands and wealth they willingly imagined were unjustly withheld from the true believer, whose natural portion they were, formed another bond of union. They had also a burning zeal for making proselytes, indifferent whether by argument or force, and their great power was naturally attended with great success. The Hindus, on the contrary, long divided, even under their own great monarchies, into petty principalities that had little intercourse with each other, but in the way of quarrel or hostility, had no principle of union, except in cases of intolerable oppression, and that only against the immediate tyrant of the hour. Their principles of quietism led them to acquiesce in any govern-

Extension
of their
influenceIts causes
and charac-
ter

* See General Vans Kennedy's admirable little "Abstract of Muhammedan Law," (Journal of the

Royal Asiatic Society, vol II) especially his additional remarks on the *Urf*, or customary law, p 157

BOOK IV
ment once established, and though they might lose they could not gain by proselytism, since with them religion was a matter of birth, and every one was held to be bound for life to the class and faith in which he was born, so that, by their tenets, no converts could be received. In war, too, the Muhammedans, who were not always braver than their Hindu enemies, owed their superiority to the same causes that have ensured success to the Europeans in modern times. They had more active energy of character, were more intelligent, were more ready to change their policy and their tactics as experience required, and had the unspeakable advantage of being constantly joined by new crowds of adventurers from Tartary, Persia, Arabia, and Afghánistán. These adventurers flocked to support them, inspired with all the ardour, activity, and enterprise natural to men who had still their fortune to make, and whose minds and bodies were still unenervated by the impatience of exertion, and the habit of self-indulgence which in India are almost inevitably generated by the physical and moral influences that surround those educated in the country. It is to be remembered, too, that though the great majority were bold, hardy, ignorant, and unpolished adventurers, many of them were men of no mean class, gentlemen and scholars, some of whom had served in the wars of different countries, while others had their minds enriched with all the literature, both of the Túrki nations and of Persia and Arabia. This literature, which we are too apt to despise, while totally ignorant of its nature and extent, however defective in some of its branches, if measured by the standard of modern Europe, was yet extremely valuable, not only as affording some acquaintance with the positive sciences and arts, but as, to a certain degree, counteracting the harsh bigotry of the Muhammedan religion. It had a tendency to open and refine the reason and imagination

by the ample stores of history, as well as of moral truth and ingenious speculation, which it possessed, while its poetry, enriched and animated by the genius of such writers as Ferdousi, Nafiz, Sadi, and Jāmi,—names that fall dead on a western ear—displayed an enthusiasm, a sublimity, and a grace, to which the west, since the most favoured ages of Greece and Rome, had nothing to compare. These new comers constantly infused a fresh spirit of vigour and enterprise into the descendants of their countrymen, whom they found in India, they generally occupied the higher offices, and, in several instances, on a change of dynasty, were elevated to the throne. The Mussulmans, inflamed by the spirit of political and military adventure, were generally on the offensive, an invaluable advantage, the Hindus, with the inertia common to their character and cherished by their religion, and with the passiveness often found in old establishments, acted merely on the defensive. Of these foreigners, in Hindustan in general, the Türks and Moghuls, the Afghans and Persians, were most numerous, while, in Gujrāt and the Dekhan, the adventurers of these races were often counterbalanced by the Abyssinians and Arabs. These observations may serve to account for the nearly uniform success and progress of the Muhammedan arms, with a few remarkable exceptions to be afterwards noticed. In Malwa, nearly all the great chiefs were Hindús; many of them Rájputs, the bravest of the Hindús, who have more feeling of common origin than usually belongs to their countrymen.

The reigns of the son and grandson of Sultan Mahmúd Khilji were chiefly remarkable for the disgusting sensuality and wanton cruelty of these princes. That of Sultán Mahmúd II was more important. The valour and activity that characterise usurpers had now, after several generations of regular succession, given way to the incapacity and ignorance of life and

Princes of
Malwa.
A D 873-
916
A D 1469-
1510
Mahmúd
II

BOOK IV

A. H. 916,
A. D. 1510,

Intrigues
of Moháfez
Khan

Interposi-
tion of
Medini
Rao

A. H. 917,
A. D. 1511

business, that are the lot of hereditary princes, when educated under ambitious ministers, and confined to the pleasures and amusements of the haram Sultan Mahmúd, a weak prince, but personally brave, was raised to the throne by his father's will and the influence of the minister, Moháfez Khan; though he had two elder brothers The Sultan soon felt that he was a mere puppet in the hands of a party, who sought to govern in his name He had ambition enough to wish to deliver himself from this thralldom, and to assert his authority For that purpose, he fled from the palace, and thus, for a time, escaped from the personal restraint to which he had been subjected Alarmed at this manifestation of an unexpected spirit, Moháfez Khan attempted to throw down the idol he had raised, and placed Mahmúd's immediate elder brother on the throne, under the name of Muhammed Shah Sultan Mahmúd was, at first, supported in asserting his authority only by the Persians, Arabs, and Abyssinians immediately about the court, but, as these foreigners, though numerous and personally brave, had not been long enough settled in Malwa to establish any extensive influence among the natives, and so depended chiefly on their individual numbers and vigour, he must have sunk under the power of his rival, had he not been opportunely joined by Medini Rao or Rai, a powerful Rájpút chief, who brought over to his cause not only the force of his own tribe, but the support of the great body of the Hindu population, the example of so eminent a leader being followed by many other men of rank and consequence Moháfez, and his king, Muhammed Shah, were in the end driven out of Malwa, and took refuge, first in Gujrát, and next in Berár But this did not restore the country to repose, for, on the death of the eldest brother of Mahmúd, a party declared his son Mahsós king, under the title of Hosheng This prince, however, seeing no prospect of

success, soon gave himself up to Sultan Mahmúd, who had thus the satisfaction of having one of his rivals in his power, while the other was driven into exile. These events were passing, between that important period of Báber's life when he was driven from Ferghána, and that when he once more attempted the conquest of Transoxiana, after the defeat and death of Sheibání Khan.

But though Mahmúd thus became the only sovereign in Malwa, his throne was far from being secure, for while Medíni Rao, his prime minister, managed everything with absolute authority, the jealousy which always subsisted between the Rájput and Musulman lords was not abated. The former, — from meeting together at court, instead of residing as formerly detached in their little principalities, and from their reliance upon, and pride in, the talents of the minister, — had gained more of that principle of cohesion, which is as necessary for the permanence of political as of physical bodies, than is usually attained among Hindu chiefs. The Muhammedan lords, on the other hand, mourned to see their king and the country directed by Pagans. To remove this grievance, a confederacy was formed among them, under Bohjat Khan, then the chief of Chándéri, in which the pagan Rais of Gondevána were induced to join. Medíni Rao, however, who did not slumber, was successful in detaching from the league Sekander Khan of Bhilsa, one of the principal confederates. Alarmed at this defection, the Musulman lords invited the exiled Muhammed Shah Chándéri, that they might once more oppose him to his younger brother, Sultan Mahmúd. But still, even with the assistance of his name, finding themselves unable to cope with Medíni Rao, they called in Sultan Sekander Lodí of Delhi, and Mozeffer Shah of Gujrát*, resolved, at any cost, to check this Hindu

Rájput
league at
the court of
Malwa.

* Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 252, 253

BOOK IV

The Kings
of Delhi
and Gujrát
interfere.

Defensive
measures of
Medíni
Rao

influence, and to defend the Muhammedans, now overborne by the power of the Rájpúts

The King of Delhi, Sultan Sekander Lodi, glad of so favourable an opportunity of extending his influence over the kingdom of Malwa, sent a body of twelve thousand cavalry, under Imád-ul-mulk Lodi, to assist Muhammed Shah, while, on the side of Gujrát, Mozeffer Shah, at the head of an army, entered the country, and advanced as far as Dhár. At the same time, Sekander Khan of Bhílsa, who had lately joined the Sultan, once more revolted and sided with the confederates. Medíni Rao, undismayed by the dangers that encompassed him on every hand, resolved to bend his chief force, in the first place, against him whom he regarded as the most formidable opponent. While he despatched an army against Sekander Khan, to keep him in check, he himself marched to meet Mozeffer Shah, who had now approached Mándu, engaged and defeated him, and drove him back into his own country. Against Sekander of Bhílsa, his arms were less fortunate, for the general sent to oppose him having fallen at the close of a successful action, Sekander rallied his broken troops, and totally defeated Mahmúd's army, thus deprived of its leader *

Medíni Rao, on his return from his campaigns against the troops of Gujrát, neglecting, for the present, Sekander Khan, who after his victory had retired to Sívás, advanced to meet the more important invasion that threatened him from Chándéri. The force there collected was led by his rival Moháfes Khan, accompanied by Muhammed Shah, and was composed of the disaffected nobles of Málwa, and the Delhi auxiliaries. The hostile armies approached, and lay opposite to each other, neither party being in haste to bring the contest to a final issue, by hazarding a decisive battle. At this

* *Ferishta*, vol. iv pp 253, 254

crisis, the prince, Mahsós (Hosheng II), who was in Sultan Mahmúd's camp, and Sadr Khan, an officer of great rank and consideration, deserted and joined the invaders, carrying along with them a large body of cavalry. By this defection the affairs of Sultan Mahmúd seemed to be brought to the brink of ruin. Fortunately for him, however, the general in command of the auxiliaries of Delhi, presuming too much upon the value of his services, and mistaking the feelings of those whom he came to succour, insisted with Bohjat Khan of Chándén, the chief of most influence among the insurgents, and the real leader of the revolt, that the public prayers should be read in the name of Sultan Sekander Lodi, as the supreme sovereign. This he absolutely refused to admit. Besides such attachment as he may have had to Muhammed Shah, for whom he was fighting, his own power, and that of the other confederate nobles, rested on the weakness of their King, and they were little disposed, by acknowledging a more powerful prince, to resign all their own importance. This produced a coolness, which was followed by Bohjat Khan's withdrawing himself from the camp of the allies. Sultan Sekander probably discovered that Malwa was not yet ready to fall into his hands, and the Delhi auxiliaries were soon after recalled. In the extremity to which he, in his turn, was reduced by these losses, Muhammed Shah, resolving to strike a bold *coup-de-main*, despatched a strong body of his troops, by a circuitous route, to surprise Mándu. But this detachment was overtaken and defeated, and Moháféz Khan, who conducted it in person, was slain. In spite of this disaster, however, Muhammed Shah and Bohjat Khan, who had again joined him on the retreat of the Delhi troops, succeeded, by the intervention of Sheikh Oulía, a holy man, in concluding a peace with Sultan Mahmúd, by which Raisen, Bhílsa, and Dhamoni were assigned to Muhammed Shah, as a provision for his support, at the

Their suc-
cess

same time that a general amnesty was granted to all his followers, and Medíni Rao was glad thus to be able to put an end to hostilities, which exhausted the kingdom and endangered its independent existence

To conclude the history of this little kingdom, some years after these transactions, Muhammed Shah died, leaving a son Ahmed Shah. Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, who had now succeeded his father in the throne of Delhi, and who professed to be the ally and protector of the prince, carried him off, and committed the charge of his forts to such persons as he supposed to be in his own interest. When Rána Sága, the head of the Hindu verner of these strongholds, being much more attached to the Rájputs than to Delhi, revolted, and all these places, with Chándéri and many other towns, fell into the hands of the Rána, who bestowed them on his allies, the leading Rájput chiefs of Malwa. Raisen and Bhilsa he gave to Siláh-ed-dín, and Chandéri to Medíni Rao *

The Rájputs
all powerful
in Malwa.

The conclusion of a peace, and the discomfiture of the Musulman confederacy, had left Medíni Rao and the Rájputs all-powerful at the court of Malwa. They filled the principal offices with their dependents, the royal guards were composed entirely of Rájputs. An unsuccessful attempt made to secure Mándu for the Muhammedan interest by revolt, gave a colour for removing the few Moslems who still continued to hold any charge of importance. Except the personal servants of the king, about twenty in number †, few were left in any situation of trust. The king either taking an alarm at these proceedings, or wrought upon by the complaints and representations of the discontented Musulmans about his person, resolved for once to act with vigour and to dismiss his Rájput troops. This

Mahmúd
attempts
their dis-
missal

says, two hundred

* Ferishta, vol iv p 256
† Tabakát-i-Akberí Ferishta

would have been no easy task, even for the ablest prince. The mode of doing it adopted by Mahmud, proved only his weakness and ignorance. It is usual, in many parts of India, when a master discharges a servant of some consideration, with whom he wishes to part on friendly terms, to present him as a mark of his good will a little betel nut, and him wrapped up in a leaf*, as is done to a guest when taking leave. As the Rajput troops amounted to forty thousand, the king ordered that number of packets of *gum* to be prepared, and sent in baskets to Medun Rao, that he might present them to the troops, and at once dismiss the whole army. The Rajputs, influenced at the indignity, called upon Medun Rao to depose Mahmud, and at once to elevate his own son, the Rai Rām†, to the throne. The minister by his influence, contrived to suppress this mutiny. But Mahmud, tired of the restraint under which he felt himself, and too pusillanimous to resort to any politic or manly measure,—with dastardly unbecomingly attempted by means of his household servants, to assassinate Medun Rao and Sulhim, his principal ministers. Sulhim fell murdered under their blows, but Medun Rao escaped, severely wounded. No sooner did the troops hear of this violent outrage, than they rushed to the palace, which they attacked, but were repulsed by the personal bravery of the king and his immediate attendants, and were once more appeased by Medun Rao, who was, to appearance, again received into favour‡. Mahmud, however, not long after, contrived to escape from the palace, with but a few attendants, and made good his way into Gujrat.

CHAP. IV
SECT. I

to die in
first

Escapes to
Gujrat

A. H. 929
A. D. 1517

From Gujrat, he soon returned, accompanied by Mozaffer Shah, then king of the country, at the head of a powerful army. Medun Rao, though deprived of that authority which in monarchical countries attends

* Pan supari

† Rai of Rais

‡ Tabakat-i-Albani, f. 159, I. c. rishta, vol. iv. p. 257

BOOK IV

His restoration

A H 924
Sef. 3
A D 1518
Feb 24

the name of king, took active measures to sustain his cause. He left his son to defend Mándu, and himself hastened to meet the invaders in the field, but, soon finding himself too weak to oppose the army of the two kings, with any hopes of success, he retreated, and, having reinforced the garrison of Mándu, proceeded to Cheitúr, to solicit succour from Rána Sánga, at that period the chief of the Rájpút race. The allied sovereigns, advancing, took Dhár, and then besieged Mándu, which, in the course of a few days, surrendered on terms, but the terms were broken by the besiegers, the place attacked and carried by surprise, and nineteen thousand Rájpúts, without discrimination of age or sex, are said to have perished,—numbers falling in the *jóhar* or voluntary massacre, by which the sack of the place was accompanied.* Mozaffer Shah, having reinstated Sultan Mahmúd in his capital, returned to Gujrát, leaving an auxiliary force behind him under Asof Khan.

Expedition
against the
refractory
Rájpúts.

But though Sultan Mahmúd was thus restored to his capital and the adjoining provinces, a large portion of Malwa was still hostile to him. Medíni Rao possessed Chándéri and Gagrown, while Siláh-ed-dín held Bhílsa, Raisen, and Sarangpút, some of the most important forts and districts of Malwa. While these chiefs were nearly independent, or dependant rather on the Rána than on Mahmúd, their extensive territories could hardly be reckoned parts of his kingdom. Sultan Mahmúd resolved, therefore, to reduce them to obedience, and led his own troops and his Gujrát auxiliaries against Gagrown, which he besieged.

Medíni Rai, having been joined by Rána Sánga from Cheitúr, advanced with a formidable army to its assistance. On hearing of this movement, Mahmúd raised the siege, and made several days' march to meet him. On the last of these days, the Sultan, after a long

* Ferishta makes the siege last some months, and says nothing of the treachery, the particulars of

which are detailed in the *Tabakát- Akbari*, ff 455, 456

CHAP II
SECT I

march, came to his ground about seven kos from the enemy Rána Sānga, however, who had heard of his approach, and who was determined to attack him while his troops were fatigued and in disorder, mounted and moved forward. As he approached the camp, he came upon scattered parties of Mahmúd's men, but, even when he had reached the main army, found all in disorder, and no regular opposition was attempted. It could hardly be called a battle. Thirty-two of the chief nobles of Malwa fell in the contest and rout that ensued, as did Asof Khan, and hundreds of the Gujrát auxiliaries. Sultan Mahmúd himself was taken prisoner, after an obstinate resistance, in which he received several wounds. He was, as we have seen, generously treated by Rána Sānga, and restored to his kingdom, partly, perhaps, by the influence of Medini Rao. But, as Medini Rao, Siláh-ed dín, and Sekander Khan of Sivás besides a number of small chiefs, retained their possessions, and, as Rána Sānga had himself seized upon many districts, insomuch that not above a tenth part of the kingdom of Malwa remained in the Sultan's hands, the revenues of the state were miserably impaired. Indeed, it was generally believed that the Rána was restrained from occupying the whole kingdom only by respect for the power and influence of Mozeffer Shah.*

Defeat of
Mahmúd,and his
member-
ment of
Malwa

But the imprudence of Sultan Mahmúd soon involved him in new dangers. On the death of Mozeffer Shah, Beháder Shah, after two reigns of only a few months' duration, succeeded to the throne of Gujrát, and Chand Khan, his younger brother, fled to Mándu, where he was entertained by Mahmúd. Attempts were made to engage in his cause the Emperor Báber, who, by this time, had gained possession of the throne of Delhi, and a correspondence was carried on between

Beháder
Shah in
Gujrat.
A H 932,
A D 1526

* Tab Akb f 457, Ferishta, iv p 262

BOOK IV

Dellu and Mándu, for that purpose. Information of this reached Beháder, who smothered his resentment for the moment, but resolved to take the earliest opportunity to revenge the injury

Báber in
Rajputana
A D 911,
A D 1528

About two years afterwards, Báber himself appeared on the stage of Malwa. After he had defeated Rána Sága, he turned his arms against Medini Rao, the chief supporter of the Rájput interest in Malwa, and took by storm Chándéri, the seat of his power, with the slaughter of all its defenders, and of that eminent man himself. He restored it to Ahmed Shah, Muhammed Shah's son, whose cause he affected to espouse, leaving a "governor over him." It was the Emperor's intention to have followed up his success by reducing Bhilsa, Raisen and Sarangpúr, the Chiefship of Siláh-ed-dín, and then to have marched to Cheitúr to attack the Rána in his capital, but this plan he was forced to abandon, by insurrections, which made his presence necessary in the eastern provinces *

Rána Rut-
tousi and
Beháder
Shah in
Malwa

At this period, Rána Sága died, and was succeeded by his son Rána Ruttousi. Sultan Mahmúd, thinking this a favourable opportunity to recover what he had lost, with that spirit of restless incapacity which marked his character, sent an army to attack and plunder the new Rána's territories. Ruttousi, in revenge of this injury, marched into his dominions, upon which the Sultan advanced from Sarangpúr to oppose him. Here he summoned to his standard Siláh-ed-dín (with whom he had, a few years before, been at war, and whom he had even deprived of Sarangpúr) and Moyín Khan, the adopted son of the late Sekander Khan of Sivás. He now, when too late, attempted to conciliate these chiefs. On Moyín Khan he conferred the title of Masnad Khan, and presented him with a scarlet pavilion, to Siláh-ed-dín he gave some additional villages, near his various

A D 926,
A D 1520

jagirs. But the Sultan had ceased to command their confidence; and these noblemen, — believing that the favours conferred upon them were intended to serve a present purpose, while his hatred was in nothing abated, and that they had every thing to apprehend from his intrigues, — soon after left his camp and joined the Rana. Meanwhile Behader Shah, seizing the opportunity for which he had been in wait, of prosecuting his revenge had also entered Malwa. The Rana, with the Malwa chiefs who had joined him, marched towards the King of Gujrat, that all might act in concert. Sultan Mahmud, filled with alarm at this revolt and double invasion sent to Behader Shah, professing his readiness to wait upon him — but, under various frivolous pretexts, constantly put off the time of meeting. Behader, at length, aware of his insincerity, pushed on to Mandu, his capital, into which the Sultan had thrown himself, and, after a short siege, took it by escalade. Mahmud fell into his hands, and was at first treated with respect, but three days afterwards, on some offence real or pretended, Behader Shah proclaimed himself king of Malwa, and next day sent off the Sultan, in chains, with twenty of his sons, under an escort of an hundred horse, to be confined in the hill-fort of Champain. But the escort that attended him being attacked, near Dokid, during the night by a party of Bhils, he was put to death by his guard, to prevent a rescue. This event occurred only three months after Humayun had mounted the throne.*

CHAP. II
PART I
— — —

A. H. 937
Shaban 1
A. D. 1531
March 8
Mandu
taken

Shah in 12
Shaban 11
Behader
Shah pro-
claimed
king

Shaban 15

* Ferishta, in the History of Malwa, (vol. iv. p. 268) fixes the date of the storming of Mandu, on the 9 Shaban, A. H. 932, (22 May, A. D. 1526). This can hardly be correct, as Baber, (Mem. p. 376) in Moharram 934, (Jan. 1525), speaks of Sultan Mahmud as still in Mandu. The real date is probably A. H. 937, Shaban 9, (A. D. 1531, March 8),

that assigned in the Tabakate Akbari, and by Ferishta in the History of Gujrat (vol. iv. p. 115). In the History of Khandesh (vol. iv. p. 310), Ferishta seems to place the reduction of Mandu, and, consequently, the death of Sultan Mahmud, in A. H. 939 (A. D. 1532-3). The Mirat-ul-Alamdi (Bird's transl. p. 208) makes the escalade of Mandu take place

BOOK IV

Partition
of Malwa

Beháder Shah and Rána Ruttonsi now overran all Malwa. The capital, with the western and northern provinces, Beháder added to his dominions. The Rána, on the other hand, seems to have added little to his own immediate territories, but the Malwa lords, who had espoused his interest, and who, for some time before, had acknowledged his authority, he confirmed in the possession of Ráisen, Rantambói, Sarangpúí, and several other extensive districts.

Capture of
Siláh ed-
dín by
Beháder
A. H. 938,
A. D. 1531

The ambition of Beháder, nourished by success, was not to be restrained by conventions and treaties. Siláh-ed-dín or Silhádi was too powerful a subject not to be viewed with jealousy, and he determined to ruin him. That chieftain's son, who was in Beháder's camp, was sent to invite his father to wait upon the King, who wished to consult with him before returning to Gujrát*. The Rájpút, leaving his son in Ujein, met Beháder Shah near Dhár. That prince entered the fort, accompanied only by Silhádi, whom he there treacherously seized, with the two Rájpúts by whom the chief was attended. One of them, laying his hand on his dagger, drew it, and prepared for resistance. "Forbear," said the chief, "it is me whom you are killing." "'Twas in your defence it was drawn," said his faithful follower, "but, since my act endangers you, thus I slay myself, and escape the misery of seeing you a prisoner." With these words, he inflicted on himself several mortal wounds, "and so," says the Musulman historian, "went to hell." Beháder's pretext for this outrage, and for his quarrel with Siláh-ed-dín, was that the pagan had in his seraglio several Muhammedan women, and even some ladies of the haram of a deceased Sultan.

20 Shábín, (A. H. 937) and the surrender of Mahmud Shah follow, 12 Moharrem, A. H. 938, (26 Aug. 1531). Ferishta makes him killed five days after the escalade (14 Shaban). The Tabakáte Akberi

makes his death occur on the Sheb e-Berat (15 Shaban) one day later, f. 459. Instead of twenty sons, Ferishta gives him seven.

* Tabakáte Akberi, ff. 391, 459, Baber's Mem. pp. 312, 376.

The king, after getting Siláh-ed-dín into his power, entered his dominions, and, with little opposition, gained possession of Ujem, Sarangpur, and Bhilsa. He finally be-sieged the brother and one of the sons of that chief in the strong fort of Ráisen, which contained also his wives and family, and, after a long siege, reduced it to the greatest distress.

CHAP. II.
SECT. I.

Silhadi, though in captivity, and even, it is said, compelled to renounce his own religion for the Moslem creed, most keenly sympathised with his afflicted subjects. Seeing no prospect of relief from an army sent to his assistance by Rana Ruttousi, a prince far inferior in all respects to his illustrious father, and in which his own son Bhopat served with the shattered remains of his force, was compelled to seek relief in submission or despair. A capitulation was at length entered into, on condition that the fort was to be given up, but that the lives, liberties, and honour of all who were in it should be respected, and that Siláh-ed-dín was to be set at large. That chieftain asked permission to enter the fort for the purpose of bringing out the females of his household, in terms of the treaty. Here he had to sustain the reproaches of his wife, Durgáwati, a daughter of Rána Síngha, who, distrusting any Moslem promises, declared her resolution to die free and unblemished, and concluded her invectives by setting fire to a pile that she had reared, which consumed in its flames the palace and seven hundred beautiful females that were in the harem. Siláh-ed-dín himself, stung to madness, put on his armour, and, accompanied by his brother, rushed out with their devoted followers, and died the death of Rájpúts. Beháder bestowed Ráisen, with Bhilsa and Chándéri, on Alem Khan Jilál Khan Jigat*, a noble-

Catastrophe
of Ráisen

* The Mirate Ahmedi calls him Sultan Alem Lodi. He seems to have been the son of a Sultan Jilál-khan, who aspired to the throne in

the beginning of his brother Sultan Ibráhim's reign. See also Baber's Mem pp 349 335

BOOK IV

man, who had lately held the government of Kalpi, under Báber, but who had subsequently fled from that place, and renounced his allegiance *. Having thus strengthened his power in Malwa, Beháder returned in triumph to his hereditary dominions.

Further
successes of
Beháder
Said
A. H. 966
A. D. 1529

Besides his conquests in Malwa, Beháder Shah had extraordinary success in other quarters. He marched through the territories of his nephew, Miran Muhammed Khan, the prince of Kandesh, to succour Imád-ul-Mulk, the King of Berár, when attacked by the kings of Beder and Ahmednagar †, and, driving the invaders before him, advanced by Jálna to Donalábád. He compelled Burhán Nizán Shah to acknowledge him as King of Ahmednagar, as well as Gujrát, and to read the public prayers in his name. He gained some important advantages over the Portuguese, who infested his dominions. He was fond of state, and affected much pomp and splendour, both in his court and camp. His armies were numerous, and the Prince of Kandesh, and the King of Berár, served in them with their auxiliaries, as did the legitimate Prince of Malwa, who was allowed or compelled to attend his court ‡.

A. H. 939,
A. D. 1532—
3

* Báber's Mem. p. 378, Ferishta, vol. iv. pp. 270, 118.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii. p. 169, vol. iv. p. 112.

‡ The greater part of the preceding narrative is from the Tabrikate Akberi, ff. 389—392. Ferishta, Hist. of Gujrát, vol. iv. pp. 1—123, Hist. of Malwa, Ibid. pp. 167—269, Hist. of Kandesh,

Ibid. p. 310, corrected by a few short notices in Báber's Memoirs.

It may be remarked, that the different histories of Ferishta vary from each other in several particulars, especially in the chronology. In each, he probably followed the historian of the particular dynasty whose annals he was writing.

CHAPTER II

AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA

SECTION II

CONQUEST OF MALWA BY HUMAYUN

RELATIONS OF GUJRÁT AND CHEITÚR — SUCCESSFUL OF BEHÁDLR SHAH IN MALWA AND RÁJPUTÁNA — HE FORMS A LLACUE AGAINST HUMAYUN — JOINED BY SULTÁN AL'ED-DÍN LODI AND HIS SON, TATÁR KHÁN LODI — AND BY MUHAMMAD ZIMÁN MIEZÁ — HUMAYUN REMONSTRATES WITHOUT EFFECT — OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIES — THEIR INTENT DEFEAT — HUMAYUN INVADES MALWA — STORM AND SACK OF CHEITÚR BY BEHÁDLR SHAH — THE ARMIES OF HUMAYUN AND BEHÁDLR MEET AT MANDÚR — THE LATTER ENTRENCH THEMSELVES — DISTRESS IN BEHÁDLR'S CAMP — FLIGHT OF THE KING — HIS TROOPS FLUNDERED AND PURSUED — INVESTMENT OF MANDÚ — DESCRIPTION OF THAT CAPITAL — OVERTURES OF BEHÁDLR — MANDÚ ESCALADED — BEHÁDLR ESCAPES TO GUJRÁT — MANDÚ PLUNDERED BY THE IMPERIALISTS — HUMAYUN SUPREME IN MALWA

THE destruction of the kingdom of Malwa, as an independent state, entirely changed the political relations which had subsisted between the rulers of Gujrát and Cheitúr. Formerly, they were often allies, henceforward, they of necessity became direct rivals. The spoils and provinces of that extensive country were the prize for which both contended. In this contest, the means which they employed to attain their objects were different. The King endeavoured to occupy the country directly by his own troops, the Rána, to secure an ascendancy by the intervention of chieftains of great

CHAP II
SECT II

Relations of
Gujrát and
Chaitur

BOOK IV

local influence. The wealth and commercial prosperity of Gujrát enabled Beháder Shah to bring into the field a large regular army and a powerful artillery, the Rána's gallant followers were ever prepared to sacrifice their lives for their chief or their tribe, in the day of battle, but they had no means of keeping the field for any great length of time, or of securing permanently such conquests as they made. A battle being gained, or a city stormed and pillaged, they were eager to return to their homes, with their glory and their plunder. The constitution of the Rájput states, a confederacy of tribes or of little chieftains, was little suited for retaining distant possessions.

Successes of
Beháder
Shah,

The attack of Beháder Shah on Siláh-ed-dín had brought the Rána into the field, in his defence. But the Rájput army were no longer directed by a warrior like Rána Sánga. Rána Ruttonsi, after a short reign, had yielded the sword of command to his brother Biker-májít*. This impolitic prince, having disgusted the chiefs, who formed the strength of his armies, could offer but an imperfect resistance to the attack of Beháder; who now, flushed with victory, invaded his territories, year after year. In the summer after the death of Siláh-ed-dín, following up his success, he reduced the important fortress of Gágrown, and sent an army to besiege Rantambói. Though compelled to hasten back to Diu, to check the encroachments of the Portuguese on his coasts, he next season returned to Malwa, marched victorious through its provinces, and, not only wrested from his rival the conquests made by Rána Sánga in that kingdom, but even advanced into the Rána's hereditary dominions, and besieged him in

A H 939,
A D 1532-
3

A H 940
In Malwa

and Rájpu-
tána

* The period of the death of Ruttonsi, and accession of Biker-májít, is not well known. The Muslim historians do not fix it, and the chronology of the Rájputs themselves is in general extremely erro-

neous. As Colonel Tod allows Ruttonsi a reign of five years, and as he ascended the masnad in A H 934, his death may be placed A H 939.

Cheitúr itself. We have seen, that, in spite of the march of the Emperor Humáyun, as far as Guáhlár, to his assistance, the Rána was compelled ignominiously to purchase, at a high price, the retreat of the King of Gujrat.

CHAP. II.
SECT. II

These continued successes added fuel to the naturally ambitious temper of Beháder. He and Humáyun had now become neighbours, and the events of the last campaign had shown that they must inevitably soon come to a collision. The King of Gujrat, indignant that his prey should have been wrested from him, looked round for means to occupy and injure the Emperor, and they were not wanting.

He forms a
league
against Hu-
máyun.

Many Afghán Amirs, and other refugees from Delhi and the eastern provinces, who had been driven into exile by the successes of Báber, had fled to his court for shelter. Sultan Beháder, who had himself been a fugitive from Gujrat at the time of Báber's invasion, and who had spent some time in exile at the court of Sultan Ibráhim Lodi, as well as at Juánpúr, stood in too great awe of the late Emperor to hazard any hostile proceedings during his lifetime. But after the succession of Humáyun, he was incessantly urged by Tátár Khan Lodi, and other fugitives from what had been the Afghán, and were now the imperial, dominions, to lend them even a moderate aid, as they boasted, with that, to be able, if not to exterminate the Chaghatái invaders, at least to drive them back beyond the Indus. We have seen that Sultan Ala-ed-din Lodi, the father of Tátár Khan, the uncle of the late Sultan Ibráhím, and twice an unsuccessful competitor for the throne of Delhi, had been sent by Báber to be imprisoned in the distant fort of Kila-Zefei, in Badakhshán*, for reasons unknown, but probably for the crime of being dangerous from his birth and his pretensions. Having escaped

Joined by
Sultan Ala-
ed din Lodi,
and his son
Tátár
Khan Lodi,

BOOK IV from custody, by the assistance of some Afghán merchants, he found his way in disguise, through many perils, across the Afghán country and Baluchistán, to the court of Gujrát. Beháder, who had long resisted the solicitations of the exiles, at last, prompted by what he regarded as his own wrongs, yielded to their importunity; and, entering into their views, began to make preparations for an attack on Humáyun. He secretly employed considerable sums in drawing off the adherents of his rival, and received, with distinguished favour, the refugees from Agra, who flocked to his court.

and by
Muham-
med Zemán
Mirza.

It was about this period that Muhammed Zemán Mírza, having escaped from Biána, arrived in his camp*, with his keeper, Yádgár Taghái Beg, whom he had seduced to accompany him in his flight. Beháder Shah, situated as he was, and indulging the plans which he did, regarded the arrival of a prince of his rank and talents as a fortunate occurrence, and warmly entered into his animosities. The fugitive confirmed the opinion given by Tátár Khan, of the ease with which the Emperor might be expelled. He represented the discipline of the army as relaxed since the late Emperor's death; the troops, as giving themselves up to ease and luxury, the nobles, as discontented, and both the native and Afghán chiefs and officers, as only waiting for an opportunity to revolt.

Humáyun
remon-
strates
without
effect.

These proceedings could not escape the notice of Humáyun, who called upon Beháder Shah to dismiss Muhammed Zemán Mírza†, and the other rebels and

* An instance of Beháder's luxurious and ostentatious magnificence is mentioned on this occasion. When Muhammed Zeman reached Beháder's camp, before Chetpur, he was suffering from the heat of the weather. His physicians recommended Gul-kend (candied conserve

of roses) to allay the heat. The Mírza sent to ask Beháder for a small quantity, and received forthwith twenty cart-loads. The king had been accustomed to have a spirit distilled from it. Farhlee-Bedauni, f. 129.

† No mention is made of any

BOOK IV

A.D. 1534

ficiently intelligible indication of what he would have attempted, had the internal disorders, which occupied him at home, admitted of his marching beyond the limits of his own dominions. Beháder, offended at the tone of his rival's remonstrances, now entered heartily into the views of the exiles, and lent every assistance in his power to the claims of Sultan Alá-ed-dín or Alim Lodi, who once more put forward his pretensions to the throne of Delhi. Tátár Khan, Alim's son, who managed the affairs of his father, urged the King to declare for him openly, contending, that the Emperor's army, in its present state, would not dare to meet that of Gujrát. But Beháder was still anxious not to come prominently forward, and it was, therefore, arranged, that the intended attack should have only the air of an unauthorised irruption of the Afghán refugees, for the recovery of their former empire, and that the King himself should not appear to take any share in it. He privately, however, supplied them with large sums of money, to enable them to put their army on an effective footing. The amount stated, probably with some exaggeration, to have been not less than a million sterling*, was sent to Rantbór, to be employed by Tátár Khan. Adventurers and exiles flocked to his standard, from every quarter, and a formidable force was soon ready to take the field.

An extensive plan of operations was formed, and vigorously acted upon. Sultan Alá-ed-dín Lodi, Tátár Khan's father, led a considerable force † to Kalinger,

* Twenty kror of old Gujrát gold coin, which Abulfazl (Akbernama, f 37) estimates at double the currency of his time, or forty krois. This, if reckoned in rupees, would give forty millions sterling, which cannot be admitted. If reckoned in dams, the current mode of Treasury computation, it would amount to one million sterling, if

in double dams, to two millions. Briggs's Ferishta calls the sum three kros of rupees, or about three millions sterling.

† I have been sometimes tempted to believe that this army was commanded by Alá-ed-dín or Alim Khan Jilal Khan Jigat, who, we have seen, now held Raisen, Bhilsa, and Chanderi. Abulfazl, however, says

BOOK IV

A.D. 1534

Bengal and Behár, and hastened back to Agra. Meanwhile, however, he ordered his brothers, Hindal and Askeri, his cousin, Yádgár Násir Mírza, the son of his late uncle, Násir Mírza, and Kásim Husein Sultan, Uzbek, with eighteen thousand horse, to proceed without delay to check the invaders, rightly judging, that, if their grand army was defeated, the others could do little mischief. When the approach of the imperialists, inferior as they were in number, became known, the invading troops were seized with a sudden panic, and large bodies of them deserted every day and returned home; insomuch that, in a short time, of this great army, collected with so much parade and expence, not more than three thousand* horse remained with Tátár Khan. That nobleman, indignant at the treachery of his mercenaries, stung with shame at the result of his high promises, and defeated in his long-cherished schemes of ambition, when they seemed on the very eve of being accomplished, hesitated for some time whether he should fight or retreat. Impelled, however, by indignation and despair, he came to a conflict with the enemy at Mandráel, where the brave followers who still adhered to him were routed with great slaughter, and himself and three hundred of his officers slain. Biána was soon recovered, without a blow, and the other two invading armies, on hearing of these calamitous events, retreated into the territories of Guyrát†.

Humáyun
invades
Malwa.

Eager as Humáyun was to repress the disorders that were arising in his dominions on the Ganges, and in Behár, he saw clearly that he could not with safety leave behind him a victorious prince so formidable as Beháder Shah, who had shown the worst dispositions, and whose dominions now approached so near to his capital. It was evident that, should he proceed to Bengal, and should Beháder, after reducing Chaitún,

* Ferishta says, ten thousand rishta, vol. II pp 73, 74

† Akbarnama, f 37, 38, Fe-

BOOK IV

A D 1535

Storm and
sack of
that place

A D 941

Rajmân 3

A D 1535

March 8

odium which would attend such an interference, would not attempt directly to interrupt the operations of Musulmans, engaged in a holy war against infidels. This opinion prevailed, the operations of the siege were pushed on with redoubled fury, the defences were battered by the cannon of Rûmî Khan, a Turkish engineer, who was assisted by Portuguese and other European artillerymen; and finally, a mine was sprung, which left a broad and accessible breach. A storm followed, on the 8th of March, A D 1535, when the fort was carried by assault, in spite of every effort made by the courage and despair of the Râjpûts. The garrison, seeing that all hope was gone, proceeded to put to death their wives and women, who, on their part, voluntarily presented their bosoms to the sword, or rushed into the blazing pyre, to avoid the defilements of slavery, and to maintain untarnished the honour of their tribe*. The remaining Râjpûts, then, clothing themselves in their yellow died garments, the well-known sign of despair and death, sallied out to meet their assailants, and were cut off to a man. The victors, on entering the city, found only a heap of ruins and a lifeless solitude. The booty, which was great, was divided among the victorious troops.

The armies
of Hu-
mâyûn and
Behâder
meet at
Mandsur

Behâder Shah had now nothing to detain him from marching to chastise the invader of his dominions. To account for the inaction of Humâyûn, at this important crisis, we are told, that, on reaching Sarangpûr, and being informed that it was the opinion of Behâder's councillors that, as a faithful believer, he would not attack a prince engaged in a holy war, he declared that they only did him justice, and immediately ceased

* Akbernâma, as above, Takâûte Akberi, ff 145, 146, Tod's Rajasthan, vol 1 pp 311, 312. From native authorities, Col Tod estimates the number of women,

who perished in this johâr, at thirteen thousand, the loss of the Rajputs, in the siege and storm, at thirty two thousand, the flower of their tribe.

from all offensive operations. There was now, however, an end of this point of honour. On hearing of the fall of the Rájput capital, Humáyun left Ujain, where he then was, and moved to the northward, while Beháder Shah, marching to meet him, the two armies soon came in sight of each other, on the banks of a large tank, near the town of Mandsúr*.

The tents of the army of Gujíát were not all pitched, and the army itself had not yet come to its ground, when its advanced pickets were attacked and driven in upon their centre with some slaughter, by a body of the imperial horse. This little incident had an effect on the spirits of the troops on both sides. Táí Khan and Sadr Khan, two of Beháder's most distinguished officers, strongly urged him, while his troops were still flushed with their success at Chetúr, and before they had tried the discipline and vigour of the Túrki warriors, to lead his men at once to battle, in which they would assuredly exert themselves gallantly. Rúmí Khan, however, who commanded the artillery, and who had much influence with the king †, was of a different opinion. He had with him about three hundred Turkish artillerymen, besides eighty Portuguese and Franks commanded by a native Portuguese, named San Jago, who had received the title of Feringí Khan. Rúmí Khan was an Ottoman Turk, who had been honoured with the title of Khodá-wend Khan. He had learned his art in the Turkish service, which, about this period, was distinguished for superiority in the management of heavy artillery. The

The latter
intrench
themselves

* Akbarnama, f 38, Tabak Akberi, ff 146 395. Jouher, (in the original) chap. 11, says, that the imperial army halted near Talwar (or Tilur, or Tisur), that Beháder, after taking Chetur, had directed his march for Gujrat, but was intercepted by the Emperor, near Mori, a town dependent on Burhánpur. Jouher does not appear to give a

very distinct account of any campaign before that of Bengal, though, as he tells Kamran Mirza, in Ramzan, A. H. 960, that he had been nineteen years in the Emperor's service, he was probably with him at this time. The Tabakát calls the place Sursur.

† Lafitau, Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais, vol. 1, p. 209, 4to.

BOOK IV. trade of the sea-coast, and the capture of several Portuguese ships, had furnished the king with an excellent train, which Rúmí Khan pronounced to be second only to that of the "Kaisar of Rúm." He said, that it would be foolish to throw away their superiority, by renouncing the use of the force in which they most excelled, that it would be better to cover themselves by trenches on all sides; to strengthen their lines by their cars, waggons and carriages, and to plant their guns so as to make their position impregnable to the enemy, that the Moghuls, as they called the imperialists, with their usual daring and impetuosity, would soon be seen to gallop up to the lines, within range of their shot, when they would be swept off in crowds, that, when they saw themselves unable to make any impression and beginning to suffer from scarcity, they must, in the end, be compelled to retreat, that, then was the time for the royal horse to follow, and cut them off in detail, in their long retreat, when exhausted and broken as they would be Rúmí Khan's success at Cheitúr, and previously at Raisen, under circumstances very different from the present, gave perhaps an undue weight to his opinion, which prevailed, and was acted upon. For a time, skirmishes daily ensued, in which the invaders, from the quality of their troops, had uniformly the advantage, when, however, they followed the flying foe close to the trenches, they were soon made aware of the risk, and, as might have been foreseen, ceased to approach them *

Become dis-
heartened

The fortified camp of Beháder was, indeed, unassailable, but it was in danger of becoming his prison. The Chaghatái army had all the advantage of daring and activity. They soon taught their enemies to dread them, and showed a decided superiority, not only in discipline and in close combat, but in more distant

fighting, from the use of the bow. The Gujrátis, whose defensive armour could not resist their powerful arrows, after some experience of their energy and skill, did not willingly meet them in the field, and became dispirited, while the ardour and enterprise of their invaders daily increased.* At this crisis Beháder was strengthened by the arrival of Sultan Alim, of Kalpi, with the troops of Raisen and Chándéri.

CHAP. II.
SECT. II.

While the armies thus lay facing each other, it happened one night that some young officers, who had met at a drinking party in the Emperor's camp, having indulged in liberal libations, began to vaunt their prowess, and to exalt themselves, as nowise inferior to the heroes of former days. Warned with their own boasting, and with the effects of the wine, they armed, mounted, and, in spite of the efforts made by their soberer comrades to prevent them, sallied forth, to the number of about two hundred, to have a dash at the enemy, and rode right for the hostile camp. When they had nearly reached it, they chanced to fall in with a division, under one of the Gujrátí generals, who, on seeing them approach, drew up his men, about four thousand in number, to receive them. The young enthusiasts, not deterred by this disparity of force, charged in amongst them without hesitation. The Gujrátis, astonished as they were, nevertheless at first stood their ground, and a short but sharp conflict ensued, but, being confounded and daunted by the unusual energy of the assailants, and numbers of them falling, they finally gave way, and fled back to their camp in confusion. In Humáyun's army this "Combat of Friends," as it was called, was loudly celebrated, and an official report† published, in a lofty strain, to make it generally known, while, in the camp of Beháder, it spread equal dismay, so that afterwards few

The "Combat of Friends."

* Tabak Akberi, f 396

† Kárnáma

BOOK IV

A. D. 1535

Sháwál 1

April 4

of his troops willingly ventured beyond the protection of their field works and batteries. On one occasion, indeed, on the day of the rejoicings for the close of the Rámzán, Muhammed Zemán Mírza, anxious to distinguish himself among his new allies, advanced out of the trenches with about five or six hundred men, as if to challenge a combat, and was met by a party from the opposite side. His followers, after shooting a few arrows, retreated, and contrived to draw their pursuers within the range of the artillery, which poured in its fire upon them with terrible effect.

Distress
in Behá-
der's camp

To act upon a plan of operations altogether defensive and passive, in an entrenched camp, is always dangerous, but, above all, in an open country. It places every advantage of daring and enterprise in the hands of an active enemy, and seldom fails to terminate in the discouragement of the troops who are placed on the defensive, and in their being cut off from all their resources. The Chaghatai Turks, having established their ascendancy in the field, and not choosing to shatter their force by throwing themselves on the lowering barricades of the enemy, scoured the country on every side, cut off all foraging parties, intercepted all supplies of grain, provisions, and stores, and nearly succeeded in blocking up the Gujrátis in their position, which was thus impregnable to no purpose. All the grain and provender in the neighbourhood was exhausted, and the Gujrátí troops did not venture out to bring them from a distance. Scarcity was soon followed by famine. They were glad to subsist on horse-flesh, and on the vilest foods. Multitudes of men, as well as horses and camels, perished from hunger*, and, in the end, the army of Beháder found themselves nearly in the same condition in which, rather more than two centuries

* Jonher says, that grain sold was not to be had even at that price for four and five rupees the sár, and

later, the Mahrattas were placed previous to the famous battle of Pimpát

CHAP. II
SECT. II

Extreme as the distress of the Gujrátis had now become, it was not easy to adopt any new plan of operations. On the other hand, it being announced to the Emperor that a fortunate day was at hand, he resolved to attempt a general assault. But the misery of the enemy had already reached its height. Beháder, in despair of being able, by any active exertion of his dispirited troops, to extricate himself from his unhappy situation, resolved to break up his camp, and to consult his safety by flight. On the 24th and 25th of April, accompanied by his nephew, Miran Muhammed Khan, prince of Kandesli, and afterwards for a short time King of Gujrát*, Malu Khan, then governor, and afterwards King of Malwa, under the title of Káder Shah, and three or four other confidential friends, in the last watch of the night, making his way through a rent in the royal tent, he left the camp unnoticed, and, first taking the road to Agra, to elude observation, soon after turned round towards Mandu. Sadr Khan, and Imád-ul-mulk Khaseh-khail, with twenty thousand cavalry, set out at the same time for that place by the direct road, while Muhammed Zeman Mirza, with another body of men, took the road of Lahúr, to attempt to excite revolt in that quarter. The heavy artillery, having been loaded and crammed with powder, were burst.

Night of
the King
and a por-
tion of his
followers

Sunday,
Shawál 21
April 1545

Humáyun, who had intended early next morning to make his attack, hearing a continued noise, accompanied with an occasional discharge as of great guns in the enemy's lines during the night, and ignorant of the cause, thought it probable that a general attack upon his camp was intended. He stood, with a body

* Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. pp. 127, 128. The same author, vol. ii. p. 76, calls the ruler of Kandesli, Mobarek Khan (Did he afterwards assume that name?)

BOOK IV.

A.D. 1535

Pillage of
the campPursuit of
the fugi-
tives.

of thirty thousand cavalry, mounted and in arms, ready for battle. All night long the alarm, confusion, shouting, and uproar in the Gujrátí camp, mixed with discharge of artillery, continued. When at length the departure of the King became known to his army, it immediately broke up and dispersed, but it was only in the course of the first morning watch that the Emperor learned the real state of things, accompanied with the information that Beháder Shah had disappeared. Upon this the imperial army burst into the deserted camp, and a general pillage ensued. Property of every description, baggage, horses, and elephants, fell into the hands of the soldiers. Many, of all ranks, were made prisoners. Humáyun, pursuing his advantage, not only dispatched a large force, under Yádgár Násir Mírza, to follow the flying enemy, but himself set out soon after with a body of horse, and hotly urged the pursuit. The Gujrátí cavalry, under Sadr Khan and Imád-ul-mulk, seem to have made good their retreat, bravely fighting and closely followed by the Emperor, with three or four thousand horse, all the way to the very gates of Mándu, which they succeeded in entering, though not without great loss. Beháder Shah, by taking bye-roads, and passing through a wild and unfrequented country, also reached Mándu *

* Akbernáma, f. 38, Tabak Akb. ff. 146, 395, 396, Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 76, vol. iv. p. 127, Kháfí Khan, &c. There are some differences among historians regarding the flight of Beháder. Ferishta, ii. 76 says, that Sadr Jehán Khan was one of the five who accompanied him. The Tabakáte Akberi also says, that he was attended by five Amirs of note. The Muntakhib-ul-Towárikh (ap. Briggs, iv. p. 128 note) says, that he was accompanied by a guard of an hundred officers. Kháfí Khan makes him attended,

in his retreat, by Sadr Khan and four thousand horse, and, after the surrender of Mándu, introduces Humáyun complimenting Sadr Khan upon the gallantry with which, in the flight, he had twice extricated his sovereign from his pursuers, by his personal exertions, on one of which occasions, Humáyun himself had nearly engaged the King hand to hand. Ferishta, too, alludes to the same circumstance, vol. ii. p. 77. This supposes that Beháder, after leaving the camp, joined Sadr Khan's force, which is probable. The Ak-

The place was closely invested by the Emperor, who fixed his head-quarters at the adjoining village of Nálcha *

CHAP II
SECT II

Among the numbers who entered the imperial service after the victory of Mándsúr, one of the first was Rúmi Khan, who, probably on no better grounds than the want of success that had attended his advice, was accused of having betrayed his master, in the late operations, by a secret understanding with the enemy. According to one account, Beháder, before setting out from Mándsúr, ordered one of his officers to put him to death, but the man, who had formerly received some favours from the Khan, gave him private notice of his danger, so that he escaped to the hostile camp, where he was well received, and immediately employed †

Invest-
ment of
Mandu
Desertion
of Rumi
Khan

Mándu, at that time the capital of Malwa, is a place of great strength. "The site of Mándu," says Sir John Malcolm, "was very inviting. The space chosen by Hosheng Shah for his future capital is thirty-seven miles in circumference. It extends along the crest of the Vindhya range about eight miles, and is parted from the table-land of Malwa, with which it is upon a level, by an abrupt and rugged valley of unequal depth, but nowhere less than two hundred feet, and generally from three to four hundred yards in breadth. On the brink of this valley"——"and on the summit of the ridge of the Vindhya mountains, which form the southern face of Mándu, a wall of considerable height was built, which, added to the natural strength of the ground, made it unassailable by any but a regular attack ‡

Description
of that
capital

After Beháder Shah had been a few days in the place, he proposed a conference, offering, as the basis of a treaty, to give up Mándu, with all its depen-

Overtures
of Beháder

bernama and Tabakat are chiefly followed in the text

† Laftau, Hist. &c vol 1 p 212

‡ Malcolm's Central India, vol 1

* Khafi Khan, MS A f 43

p 29

BOOK IV
A D 1535

Mádu
escaladed

dencies,—that is, the kingdom of Malwa,—reserving to himself Gujrát and Cheitúr. The proposal was accepted; and Sadr Khan, on the part of Beháder, and Moulána Muhammed Bergholi, on the part of Humáyun, accordingly met*, and proceeded to arrange the definitive articles. Meanwhile, the garrison being thrown off their guard, relaxed in their watchfulness. Late at night, about two hundred of the imperial troops, taking advantage of the circumstance, applied scaling-ladders to a remote part of the walls, which they mounted. Having assisted their comrades by ropes to gain the top of the works, they next let themselves down into the town, and took possession of the nearest gate, which they opened to their countrymen, who rushed in in considerable numbers.

Beháder
escapes to
Gujrát.

No sooner did the news of this irruption reach Milu Khan, who had charge of the works†, than, mounting the first horse he could find, he galloped off to give the alarm to Beháder Shah, then fast asleep. The King, starting up at the sound of Milu Khan's voice, between sleeping and waking, took to flight, with only two or three attendants. As he proceeded through the town, he was joined by Bhopat Rai, the son of the late Silhádi, and one of the leading chieftains of Malwa, who overtook him, with about twenty horse. They had reached the Esplanade gate‡, which seems to have led into the citadel, when they met about two hundred of Humáyun's cavalry. Beháder Shah, without hesitation, bravely charged into the midst of them, and was followed by all his little party. He succeeded in breaking through, and, accompanied by Milu Khan and one other attendant, entered the fort of Sóngar, the citadel of

* The conferences were held at a place called *Nili Sabil* (the blue road).

† It is not perfectly clear what character Milu Khan bore, in the court of Beháder. He is sometimes

called governor of Malwa, but there seems reason to believe that he was nominally prince or Wáli of Malwa, under the overbearing protection of Beháder.

‡ Derwazeh, Sire Meidan.

Mandu. He did not venture, however, to prolong his stay there. Having had his horses, with much difficulty, hoisted by ropes over the wall during the night, and himself descending the precipice that surrounds it, he finally, with excessive toil and danger, gained the high road to Gujrat. An Uzbek, formerly in his service, who had deserted to the enemy, and was stationed near the fort, recognised him in his flight* and informed the officer in command that he had certainly seen the king; but this information was not believed, or acted upon, so that Behader was not pursued, and, before he reached the fort of Chimpaur, about fifteen hundred men had joined him.

CHAP. II
SECT. II

The escalade of Mandu by Humayun's troops being wholly unexpected on both sides, no intelligence of it reached the Emperor at Nalcha that night nor till near eight o'clock next morning. When informed of what was going forward, he flew to the Delhi gate†, by which he entered. Here he found the combat still maintained, in the streets, and Sadr Khan, though wounded, gallantly keeping his ground near the gate of his house. In this obstinate defence he persisted, till some of his officers, seeing the hopeless nature of his resistance, seized the reins of his horse and led him away to Songur, into which many of the troops that had escaped from Mandu also threw themselves. For three whole days, the victorious army was incessantly employed in plundering the houses of this fine town, before a stop was put to their rapacity.

Mandu
plundered
by the Im-
perialists

The Emperor, eager to pursue his flying enemy, in-

Humayun
supreme in
Malwa.

* Toulur says, that he escaped through the trenches of Hindu Beg by his connivance. But, as Hindu Beg afterwards quarrelled with Biram Khan and his party, the occasional charges made against him, by their adherents, are to be received with caution. Abulfazl, with

more probability, affirms that the Uzbek made his report to his superior, Kasim Husain Khan, who was himself an Uzbek, and who commanded in that quarter.

† The gate by which Behader entered was the Choli-Mheisur gate.

BOOK IV
A D 1535

vited the garrison of the citadel to surrender Sadr Khan and Alim Khan* of Kalpi were the principal officers in the place; and, from necessity, entered into a negotiation After some delay, arising chiefly from apprehension of the Emperor's resentment, a capitulation was concluded, and the fort surrendered, on condition of quarter to the garrison Sadr Khan was received with much courtesy, applauded for his fidelity to his sovereign in his reverse of fortune, and for his distinguished gallantry, and honoured with the Emperor's friendship, while Alim Khan was treated with great severity, being mutilated, by having his foot cut off, as a deserter from the imperial service The reduction of Mándu put Humáyun in possession of the whole open country of Malwa, which he thus in some measure conquered, by a single blow

* There were two Alim Khans, Alim Khan Lodi, the brother of Sultan Sekander Lodi, and Alim Khan Jigat of Kalpi, apparently the son of Jilal Khan, the brother and rival of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi The person taken in Mandu, I suppose to have been the latter Yet there is considerable uncertainty Abulfazl, in Akbernáma, ff 38, 39, and the Tabakáte Akberi, ff 146 396, call this person Sultan Ahm Khan The Táríkhe Bedauni, f 140, calls him Sultan Alim Khan Lodi The Mirát-e Ahmedi says expressly, that he was the brother of Sultan Sekander Lodi, who had been driven

from Kalpi by Humayun, and, accompanied by twelve thousand horse, sought an asylum with Sultan Beháder The greatness of the jagir bestowed on him proves him to have been a man of no small note.

The expressions used in describing his punishment are *paí kirdch ríha* and *paí buridend* Ferishta tells us, that he suffered capitally, vol iv p 128

We afterwards find a Sultan Alim Khan, commanding the Gujrati left, at the battle of Mahmudábád, and in possession of the jagir of Danduka.

CHAPTER II

AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA

SECTION III

CONQUEST OF GUJRÁT BY HUMÁYUN

HUMÁYUN ADVANCES TO GUJRÁT — BEHÁDER FLIES TO DIU — NIGHT ATTACK ON THE IMPERIAL CAMP — HUMÁYUN GIVES OVER CAMBAY TO PILLAGE. — DESCRIPTION OF CHAMPANÍR. — IT IS CAPTURED BY ESCALADE — THE GOVERNOR, EKIHLÁR KHAN — MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON — AND IMMENSE BOOTY — INDOLENCE AND REVELS OF HUMÁYUN — AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES — DEMONSTRATION IN HUMÁYUN'S FAVOUR FROM SIND — SHAH HASAN ADVANCES TOWARDS PATAN AND MAHMUDÁBÁD — HE RETREATS — BEHÁDER SHAH AT DIU — NEGOTIATES WITH THE PORTUGUESE. — ANARCHY IN GUJRÁT — BEHÁDER DEPUTES ILÁD-UL-MULK TO COLLECT THE REVENUES — RAPID INCREASE OF IMÁD'S FORCE. — HUMÁYUN MARCHES AGAINST HIM — HIS ADVANCED GUARD SURPRISED — HE DEFEATS IMÁD — HUMÁYUN AT AHMEDÁBÁD — ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF GUJRÁT — ADVICE OF HINDÚ BEG — ALARMING INTELLIGENCE FROM AGRA — AND FROM MALWA. — HUMÁYUN RETURNS TO MÍNDU — TRANQUILLIZATION OF MALWA.

THE destruction of the combined armies of Gujrát and Malwa, in the trenches of Mandsúr, the possession of Mándu, and the disappearance of every armed force that could oppose him in Malwa, encouraged Humáyun to pursue his success, and to follow Beháder Shah into his own country. Only three days after the fall of the citadel, the Emperor, with ten thousand cavalry, hastened by forced marches towards Gujrát, ordering the rest of his army to follow without delay.

CHAP II.
SECT III

A. D. 1535
Humáyun
sets out for
Gujrat.

BOOK IV

A D 1535

Arrives at
ChampanirBehader
flies to Diu.

When he arrived at Champanir, he encamped at Imád-ul-mulk's tank, opposite the Pipli gate Beháder, who had put the fort in a condition to stand a long siege, and had sent away the crown and state jewels with a quantity of treasure to Diu, no sooner heard of his arrival, than, giving his final instructions for its defence, he left the town by another gate near the Leshker Taláo, and fled for Cambay * Before setting out, however, the large town of Muhammedábád-Champanir, situated under the hill on which the fort stands, was set on fire by his orders or with his connivance Humáyun's troops entered in time to assist in extinguishing the flames The Emperor, eager to have Beháder Shah in his power, leaving Mír Hindú Beg with the bulk of his force to invest the citadel, himself set out, attended only by a thousand horse, in pursuit of the flying prince Beháder no sooner reached Cambay, where a hundred war-grabs, which he had built for the purpose of combating the Portuguese, were stationed, than, setting them all on fire to prevent their falling into the hands of his enemies, he renewed his flight, proceeding towards Diu The same day on which he left Cambay, Humáyun arrived, and then, says his historian, for the first time, "encamped on the shore of the salt sea," which none of his ancestors had ever seen He sent on a party to overtake the Sultan, who, however, made good his entrance into Diu. His pursuers returned back with a rich booty, collected in the neighbourhood of that city †; and thus, says Abulfazl, was the conquest of Mándu and Gujrát accomplished, in the course of this year

A D 942,
which be-
gins 2nd
July,

A D 1535

* Kambát

† The Akbernáma, f 39, Tabakute Akberi, f 146, Tarikhe Bedauni, f 140, and Khafi Khan, make Behader fly, and Humáyun follow, to Ahmedabad, the Tabakát adds, that that city was entered and

plundered by the Emperor's troops. It is more probable that Behader, as reported in the Tab Akb f 396, and by Ferishta, fled directly to Cambay, where the Tabakát says, that he only staid long enough to get fresh horses, ff 146 396 v

While Humáyun lay encamped near Cambay, with the diminutive force that he had brought along with him, Malek Ahmed Lád and Rakn Daúd,—chiefs subject to Beháder Shah, and who possessed the greatest influence in the adjoining districts of Kolwára,—seeing that the Emperor was attended by so inconsiderable a number of troops, and was not apprehensive of any attack, pointed out to the rude Kóh and Gowár chiefs in the neighbourhood, how favourable the moment was for surprising and plundering his camp, and easily induced them to concert measures for a night attack. This could hardly have failed of success, but for an unforeseen accident. An old woman of one of the tribes, who became acquainted with the plan, resolved to turn this knowledge to account. Repairing to the imperial tent, she told a servant of the household, that she had some information of most urgent importance, which she could communicate only to the Emperor's private ear. As the woman was steady in her asseverations, and seemed to be an honest and decent person, her apparently extravagant request was complied with, and, being brought before the Emperor, she gave a clear and detailed account of the plan of an attack, which was that night to be made upon him. Surprised, yet doubtful, he questioned her, what motive could have led her to make a disclosure so injurious to her tribesmen. The woman told him in reply, that her son had been seized, and was detained as a slave, by one of his servants, and that all she wished, in return for the service she was now doing his Majesty, was to be able to deliver her child from captivity, adding, that if her information was found false, he might inflict any punishment he pleased both on herself and her son. The lad was sought for and found, and both were placed in custody. The troops were ordered to be on the alert, and the Emperor withdrew to a rising ground at a little distance, to watch the event.

CHAP II
SECT III

Night attack on the
Imperial
camp

BOOK IV

A D 1535

It is de-
featedHumáyun
gives over
Cambay to
pillageDescription
of Cham-
panir

All was quiet during the night, but just before the day began to dawn, the Bhils and Gowárs, to the number of five or six thousand, suddenly burst into the camp *, and rushed towards the imperial tents, which they completely plundered, putting to death all whom they met. Having succeeded in this, their first object, they next spread themselves on every side, bearing down all before them. As soon as the light appeared, the Emperor led down the troops that were with him, against the disorderly assailants, whom they found dispersed and plundering in every quarter of the camp. They were soon routed, and pursued in their flight with much slaughter. Humáyun, enraged at this attack, in which many of his followers fell, issued orders for setting fire to the neighbouring, and probably innocent, town of Cambay, which he gave up to be pillaged by his followers.

From Cambay, Humáyun returned back to Champanir, which he found still blockaded. This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that rises towering out of the level plain, in the south-eastern portion of Gujrát, and is visible over a great part of

* Akbernáma, f 39, Tabakate Alberí, f 147

This surprise seems to have been more complete, and the loss sustained in it greater, than Abulfazl acknowledges, for, not only was the camp plundered, but several men of eminence fell. Jam Firozeh, the chief of Tatta, who, when driven from his dominions by the Arghuns, had joined Behader Shah, at Haroda, in A D 935, (A D 1528) and whose daughter Behader had married, (Ferishta, iv 110) was in the Emperor's camp, having been made prisoner at the rout of Mandsur. He was put to death, on this occasion, by the persons in whose custody he was, to prevent his being rescued. The

famous Sadr Khan Gujrátí, who had followed Humáyun, was also slain — Akbernáma and Tabakut, as above. In the plunder of the Emperor's baggage, a number of books, which the Emperor always carried with him as the companions of his leisure, were destroyed or lost. Among these, Abulfazl particularly notices a splendid copy of the *Taimurnama*, or *History of the great Taimur*, written by the pen of Mulla Sultan Ali, and illuminated by Uai id Bihz id, a famous painter, "which," he adds, "having been recovered, is now in the imperial library." It was probably the *Zafar-nama* of Sher ed din Ali Yezli.

that rich and populous country.* The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks, which, among the natives of India, have gained it the reputation of being impregnable to active operations. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other, while the extensive, and at that time magnificent town of Muhammedábád-Champaur, extended on one side along its base. Humayun, who had caused the place to be invested on his first arrival there, on his return from Cumbay planted his battering cannon against it, and continued the siege and blockade, but without apparent effect. The fort was bravely defended by Ekhtiar Khan, the son of a Kazi of Neriid, one of the finest districts of the kingdom. The Khan, an officer of great resolution and intelligence, and faithful to his prince, vigorously defended the towers and works that were attacked, and mightily annoyed the besiegers by the fire from his wall-pieces, and by throwing showers of rockets into their batteries and camp. He had established a secret understanding with the wood-cutters and some of the villagers of the surrounding country, who, tempted by the high prices given for their supplies, penetrated through the ravines of the hill, which, being covered by jungle and thorny plants, were nearly inaccessible to persons on foot, and totally impervious to horsemen. These peasants, however, by their acquaintance with the by-paths of the hill, and by forcing themselves through the thickets, continued to carry quantities of grain and oil to the foot of the fort wall†, when the

* See Lieut. (now Col.) Wm Miles's account of this fort in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. 1.

† Ferishta says (vol. ii. p. 78) that this was a needless precaution on the part of the governor, as the fort was provisioned for a siege of some years. Khafi Khan, the his-

torian, who afterwards, in the reign of Sultan Alim Shahder, was himself governor and collector of the fort and district of Champaur, and who consequently knew the place well, says, that the fort is by no means of such strength as to enable it to stand out against the attack of an imperial army, and he ascribes

BOOK IV

A D 1535 G

Its capture
by escalade

garrison, letting down the price from above by means of ropes, drew up in exchange such provisions as were thus supplied.

After the blockade had been thus protracted for upwards of four months, Humáyun, who had become impatient of the delay, while making the circuit of the place, in order to discover some spot where it might be possible to attempt an escalade, in passing near the gardens of the Kábul suburb, observed a party of these peasants issue from the wood. Riding up, he began to question them about their employment in such a place. They affirmed that they were wood-cutters occupied with their trade, but as they could produce neither hatchets nor any other implements of that calling, reasonable suspicions were excited. The Emperor, according to the fashion of the country, instantly commanded them to be seized and beaten, assuring them that the punishment should not cease, till they had declared the whole truth. Seeing no remedy, they confessed everything, and, acting as guides, conducted the Emperor's party back through the paths by which they had gained the foot of the fortifications.

The rock, and wall by which it was surmounted, were found to be sixty or seventy cubits high, and so steep and smooth, that it was impossible to climb them. Humáyun, who saw that the garrison entertained no apprehension of an attack in this quarter, fixed upon it as a fit place for attempting an escalade. For this purpose, he ordered seventy or eighty iron spikes to be made, and, one moonlight night, repairing with a chosen band of followers to the ground, he caused the spikes to be driven in to right and left, at the distance of a cubit above each other, in the face of the hill wall. This being effected without observation, some of the

A D 943,
A D 1536

the merit of the long resistance which it made, to the skill and gallantry of Ekhtuár Khan. In the

time of Humáyun, however, the attack of fortified places was very imperfectly understood.

bravest of the warriors, eager to distinguish themselves under the eye of the Emperor, mounted, to the number of thirty-nine. The Emperor was next about to ascend, when Bīram Khān besought him to wait till those who were mounting should be higher up, when the road would be clear. The Khān himself then began to ascend, the Emperor followed, and was the forty-first* on the top of the wall. About three hundred men mounted by this iron ladder, in safety, before day-break.

While this was going forward, the troops which were stationed in the batteries before the place, had been ordered to open a cannonade, and to make assaults on the other side of the fort, so as to draw off the attention of the enemy. In this they succeeded, the garrison, ignorant of what was passing behind, were intent only upon repelling the open and visible attack in front, and, as the morning dawned, suddenly found themselves assailed in rear by a shower of arrows. While yet stunned by this unlooked-for occurrence, the sound of the kettle-drum and trumpet from behind, announced that the Emperor himself was among the assailants. Confounded by the advantage thus unexpectedly gained over them, and ignorant of the numbers of the enemy who had effected an entrance, they were struck with terror, and the escaladers succeeded in seizing a gate †, by which they admitted the rest of the besiegers. Ekhtīār Khān, with some of his troops, escaped to the upper fort, or Ark, where he was again invested, but the whole magazines of grain, oil, and other necessaries being in the lower fort, which had been taken, he was next day compelled to surrender on promise of quarter. Besides being a brave soldier, Ekhtīār Khān was eminent for his acquirements in science, especially in geometry and astrology, and was also a poet, and a

Governor
Ekhtīār
Khān

First week
of Sefer,
July 20-26

* According to some the fortieth and Tabakat), Mulba (Ferishta)
† Called Mouhah, (Akbernama)

BOOK IV

A D 1536

Massacre of
the garri-
sonImmense
booty

man of letters, qualities, we are told, which had favoured his rise at the court of Beháder, and afterwards recommended him to the special favour of the Emperor *. The whole garrison, the governor and his family excepted, were barbarously put to the sword. The treasure and property found in Champanir are said to have been immense. Being, from its situation, regarded as impregnable, great quantities of jewels, precious stuffs, and bales of rich goods of every description, which had been laid up in it as a place of security, besides arms, armour, provisions, and warlike stores fell into the hands of the victors. Much gold and treasure of former kings of Gujrát were also dug out of the ground, where they had been hid. "Humáyun," says Ferishta, "gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, and jewels as could be heaped on their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit, and the merchandises and rich cloths of Rúm, Khita and Ferang †, which had been there collected to a vast amount, were at the same time plundered by the captors" ‡

* Akbernama, MS f 40, B ff 78, 79, Tabak-ut Akbari, ff 147 396. I know not whether "*Amán*" always means an offer of quarter. In its consequences, it is often a surrender at discretion.

† Turkey, China, and Europe.

‡ Ferishta, vol ii p 80, copied, adding what regards the shields, from the Tabak-ut Akbari, which Ferishta often follows, f 146. See also, f 386.

A lively idea of the manner in which valuable property was sometimes hid, in India, may be gained from the account given by Jouhar in his Memoirs of Humayan, chap ii, of the discovery of part of the treasures of Champanir. A few days after the fall of the fort, one of Beháder Shah's officers, named Alem

Khan, came and made his submission to Humayan. As he was supposed to be in the Sultan's confidence, several of the Emperor's advisers recommended that he should be seized and put to the torture, to make him discover where the treasures were concealed, but this the Emperor would not suffer, as Alem Khan had come in of his own accord, but he allowed him to be invited to a banquet, and there plied with wine, and interrogated on the subject. A banquet, accordingly, was prepared, and when the good cheer had produced its natural effects upon the Khan, he was asked about the treasure. Alem Khan, gratified by his reception, replied, that his Majesty had only to make the water of a certain large reservoir be drawn

After this event, Humáyun, instead of prosecuting the decisive advantages he had gained, and which placed the whole kingdom of Gujrat at his mercy, spent his time near Champann, on the banks of the Douirah tank, in celebrating his successes by sumptuous entertainments, and enjoying the immense wealth that had fallen into his hands. The long succession of these festivities withdrew his attention, for a time, from the cares of state, and the discipline of his troops, which was gradually relaxed. Neglecting their military duties, they gave themselves up to those excesses in which rich and idle soldiers are wont to indulge. His affairs fell into confusion, the government of the provinces was neglected, and, even his own camp became a scene of uproar and insubordination.

CHAP. II
Secret III

Indolence
and revels
of Hu-
mayun

A striking instance of this spirit soon appeared. A party composed principally of the secretaries, librarians, armour-bearers, clerks, and others, in the service of the Emperor and his chief nobles, imitating the example of their lords, were enjoying themselves in a grand banquet at the gardens of Hald, in the vicinity of the city. When heated with wine the story recorded of Taimúr in the Zafar náma, but borrowed from a much more ancient fable, was read to them. The great conqueror, near the beginning of his career, and in his days of difficulty, is said to have taken, from each of his forty companions, two arrows, which, tying in a bundle, he offered to them to be broken. Each, in suc-

Injurious
results

cess, when treasure could be found enough to satisfy the whole army. This being reported to the Emperor, he caused a number of buckets and other vessels to be collected, to empty the tank. While the people were thus employed, the Khan remarked, that there was a much more expeditious mode of doing it. He made them dig under the tank, where an outlet or drain was found,

which, being opened, the water quickly ran off. An immense quantity of treasure was discovered, and immediately divided among the army. The Khan afterwards pointed out a well, that was found to be filled with gold and silver, which had been melted into bars. No part of this last treasure was given to the troops.

BOOK IV

A D 1536

cession, tried in vain. He then presented their own two to each, who broke them with ease. Whereupon, with a voice of authority, he drew the moral, and told them, that, if they remained united and assisted each other faithfully, making common cause, no enterprise was too arduous for them to achieve.

The revellers, as they listened, applied the incident to their own situation. They counted their party, which was found to consist, not of forty, but of four hundred. Flushed with the recent successes and with wine, they magnanimously resolved to imitate the great Tamúr,—to set up for themselves, and to attempt no less than the conquest of the Dekhan, at that moment the grand resort of adventurers. Hurried away by this heroic resolution, they instantly set out for the south. Nothing could be more wild than such an attempt, made by men in their circumstances, in a body, and by one effort, though many of them were probably persons who, individually, might have successfully aspired to high eminence. They lived in an age and country of revolutions, they seem to have been men of some education, and every day proved the wonderful superiority of the hardy and enterprising men of the north over the natives of India. Even in the Dekhan, the principal offices were filled by their countrymen, of a rank originally not much superior to their own. But such an enterprise as was in this instance attempted, was an act of madness, and should have been punished only as a drunken frolic.

Next morning, when the heroes who composed this chivalrous band were wanted in their various offices, not one of them was to be found. The cause and direction of their flight, however, became speedily known, a thousand men were sent in pursuit, they were overtaken, and brought back in bonds to the imperial presence.

The day of the week happened to be a Tuesday,

when the Emperor, according to the fantastic astrological fancies, on which at this period of his age he acted, clothed in red robes, the colour suited to Mars, the guardian planet of the day, was sitting in state on the throne of wrath and vengeance. He, too, though the judge, was probably still labouring under the effects of his previous excesses. The deserters were brought in, in small parties*, and sentence pronounced on them with a capricious cruelty, embittered by the levity with which it was accompanied. Some were trampled to death by elephants, some were beheaded, some had their ears and noses cut off, some their fingers pared away. In the evening, the Imâm, or leader of the religious service in the mosque, who was a man of no great understanding, read, according to custom, a portion of the Koran, after the first genuflection. The chapter that he chose was that which alludes to the destruction by the divine wrath, of the masters of the elephant, who impiously attempted to destroy the temple of Mekkâ. It displeased the Emperor, as if chosen with some illusion to his own recent employment †,

* The details of this judgment, as given by Abulfazl (Akbernâmâ, f 10) are very disgusting, and exhibit the wretched punning, propensity of our James I., but on an occasion when it is not ridiculous, but revolting. The sentences pronounced depend on idiomatic Persian phrases, hardly translatable. "Some of the emperor," says he, "having stretched their head beyond the line of duty, had their bodies relieved altogether of the burden of the head, some, who, not knowing hand from foot, (i.e. foolishly) had struck their hand in rebellion, were deprived of both hand and foot, a band, who, from self-conceit (khud bini), had not lent their ears to the imperial commands, could find neither ears nor nose (bini) in their usual place."

Others, who had touched the limits of revolt with the tips of their fingers, were unable any longer to discover the figure of their fingers, on their fists, &c.

† This Chapter, CV, entitled "The Elephant," is a very short one, and does not seem to contain much matter of offence. Humayun probably referred to himself the expression of "Master of the Elephant," and believed that allusion was made to such as had recently been trodden to death.

"In the name of the most merciful God!"

"Hast thou not seen how the Lord dealt with the Masters of the Elephant? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error and send

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and, when the service was over, he ordered the Imám to be trodden to death by an elephant, for charging him, by insinuation, with tyranny Moulána Muhammed Berghohi, a learned and saintly personage, high in the Emperor's favour, interceded for the Imám, and pleaded that, being an ignorant man, he did not understand the Koran, and meant no ill But this interference only further enraged the Emperor, who vented the passion, with which he was still inflamed, in reproaches directed against the intercessor himself, and the sentence was carried into effect When, however, Humáyun's rage had somewhat evaporated, and when he had leisure for cool reflection, he was seized with the deepest sorrow and remorse, and spent the ensuing night in tears and lamentations *

Demonstration in Humáyun's favour from Sind

Shah Hasan advances towards Patan

It was, probably, about this time that a demonstration, for the purpose of favouring Humáyun's invasion of Beháder's territories, was made on the side of Sind The Emperor, when he marched to attack Gujrát, wishing to create a diversion in his favour by a formidable inroad into that kingdom from the north and west, wrote to Shah Hasan, the ruler of Sind, inviting him to lead his army towards Patan, there to await farther orders With this requisition Shah Hasan complied, and marched, with a considerable force, from Nasirpúr on the Indus, by way of Idphal, towards Patan in Gujrát Khizer Khan, who was governor of Patan-Nehr-wála, for Beháder, on hearing of his approach, being resolved to make a vigorous defence, directed all the neighbouring cattle to be driven within the inclosure of the town As soon as Sultan Mahmúd Khan Bhekeri, who commanded the advance of the Sind army, and plundered the country and the villages as he marched along, had arrived, with five hundred cavalry, within about seven kos of the town, he encamped At the

against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and rendered them like the

leaves of corn, eaten by cattle ? "

* Akbernáma, f 40

same time, he sent a message to the governor, inviting him to surrender to Shah Hasan, who was on his route to attack him, with a large army, and offered to allow him and his family to leave the town unmolested, and to retire in safety, wherever they might wish to go. Khizr Khan returned for answer, that Beháder Shah was safe in Gú nál, and that he, as a faithful subject, would defend to the last extremity the city entrusted to his care. The envoys, who were of the Jháreja tribe, desirous that their mission should not be altogether fruitless, then waited on the governor's mother, to whom they held out the policy of sending some propitiatory offering to the invaders, and prevailed upon her to present the sum of a lak of Furúzshábis to Shah Hasan, and thirty thousand to Sultan Mahmúd, to induce and enable them to leave the Patan territory, and to march on.

Next morning, Shah Hasan arrived with the main body of his army, near Patan. Sultan Mahmúd, a man of impetuous courage, was eager to be allowed to push forward into Gujrát, but Shah Hasan halted, and sent on messengers to the Emperor to announce his arrival, and to ask farther orders. Meanwhile, Khizr Khan's people arrived with the presents, which seem to have secured the city of Patan from molestation. Sultan Mahmúd, however, extended his plundering excursions to the close vicinity of Mahmúdábád, in Gujrát, and his followers were enriched by the plunder of that wealthy and flourishing country.

His troops
plunder on
to Mah-
múdabad.

Here, the diversion from Sind terminated, Shah Farakh, one of Sultan Hasan's principal generals, having represented to him, that, should Humáyun order the Sind army to join his own, the Arghúns and Teikháns of Sind, who were at present satisfied with their condition,—if they once witnessed the luxury in which the Chaghatáis lived, and the wealth gained by the imperial army, in consequence of the division of the royal

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He retreats

Beháder
Shah at
DiuNegotiates
with the
Portuguese

treasure,—would certainly become discontented, and that many of them would exchange his service for that of the Emperor. Shah Hasan acquiesced in the justice of this representation. He, therefore, dispatched messengers to report to Humáyun, that he had received information that the Kilmiti and Jitwi tribes, invited by the Zemindars of Sind, had entered that country, during his absence, and threatened to throw every thing into confusion, so that his immediate return was indispensable. Without waiting for an answer, he led back his army, by way of Radhanpúr, inflicting severe chastisement on the Jháreja and Sodha tribes, as he went along.*

When Sultan Beháder fled from Champanír, he took refuge in the island of Diu, on which stood a rich and populous seaport town, as well as a royal palace. It was the great emporium of the coasting trade of that part of India, since it possessed a safe harbour, which saved the necessity of encountering the banks and shallows of the Gulph of Cambay, and Surat had not yet absorbed the commerce of Gujrát. The Portuguese, who, since the discovery of the route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, aimed at a monopoly of the Indian trade, and had become the tyrants of the west coast, from Ceylon to the Red Sea, were eager to establish themselves at Diu, not only in order to have the command of the Gulph of Cambay,—and of the coast of Gujrát Proper, and of the Kókan on the one side, and of the peninsula of Gujrát and the coast of Kach and Sind on the other,—but to be enabled to intercept the trade of the Persian and Arabian Gulphs with India. Beháder had been, for some time, at war with the Portuguese, but, latterly, had entered into an accommodation with them. In his distress, he was now

* Tarikhe Sind, ff 149—151. Champanir, A. II. 942-3 (A. D. 1536)
This incursion evidently occurred while the Emperor's army lay at

inged by those about him to apply to them for succour. To this he consented, as a measure of temporary relief, though, at the same time, he privately dispatched an embassy to Soliman the Magnificent, the Sultan of Constantinople, with rich presents for the Sultan, valued at six hundred thousand pieces of gold *, besides large sums of money to pay the auxiliary force that might be sent. Nuño d'Acuña, the Portuguese viceroy, thus called upon, agreed to furnish assistance, but only on condition that he should be allowed to erect a fortification at Diu, for the protection of his fleet, and put in possession of the sea-tower which commanded the entrance of the harbour. These demands he represented as made solely for the necessary security of his troops and shipping, and undertook that his countrymen should levy no duties or customs on ships, whether entering or sailing from the port, and should exercise no act of sovereignty. The King, in his distress, acceded to these terms, and no sooner was his consent given, than the Portuguese, who had long sought in vain to settle at Diu, set to work, and in forty days erected a fortress, which was impregnable, at least to their enemies, and made them in reality masters of the island, and of the trade of the whole coast. The Portuguese affirm, that, in return for this concession, they afforded Beháder Shah the aid of five hundred Europeans, of whom fifty were men of note †.

After the fall of Champanír, the whole country of Gujrát, as far north as the river Myhi or Mehendri, had come into the Emperor's hands, and was occupied by his orders, but so much does he seem to have been engaged in discovering and enjoying the rich treasures of Champanír, that nobody was appointed to conduct the government, or to collect the revenues of the provinces beyond that river‡, though, in the universal

Anarchy in
Gujrát.

* Lafitau, vol 1 p 213

† Tab Akberi, f 386

‡ Briggs's Ferishta, vol iv p 134

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panic that prevailed, they had been altogether abandoned by the officers of Beháder, civil and military. The landholders and raiats in that quarter, left in this singular predicament, wrote to Sultan Beháder, to whom they were still attached, to represent, that the revenues of the country were now due, but that there were no collectors to receive them; and that, if his Majesty would appoint a proper person, they should be paid to him as usual.

Behader
deputes
Imad-ul-
mulk to
collect the
revenues

We are told that Beháder Shah, sitting in council, mentioned the tenor of these letters; and asked, who would repair to Ahmedábád, and undertake the management of this business. All were silent, till Imád-ul-mulk, a distinguished nobleman, who had been a slave of the King's*, boldly offered himself for the enterprise, but required, as an indispensable condition, that, in consideration of the perturbed state of the country, and of the peculiar exigency of affairs, he should have the sole and absolute power to demand or remit the revenue, to make grants of land, or pay away money, as he judged expedient, without being liable to be called to account at any future time. This being assented to, he set out on his mission, with only two hundred horse, and marched for Ahmedábád. As he went along, he appointed officers to collect the revenues of the province, wrote and delivered grants of land or of pensions to different persons, in whom he could confide, and who had weight in the country, and was joined by them and their followers in such numbers, (especially by the zemindars of Sorath or Kattiawár,) that his force growing as he advanced, by the time he reached Ahmedábád, which he occupied, he found himself at the head of not less than ten-thousand horse. He now expended, with open-handed liberality, the revenues which he collected, and, the cause being

Rapid in-
crease of
his force

* Ferishta (iv p 80) calls him f 148
a Circassian, the Tabakat, a slave,

popular, his army speedily increased to thirty thousand men * Mujáhid Khán, the chief of Júnagar, joined him with ten thousand followers, and the army received a valuable reinforcement by the arrival of Beháder's European soldiers †

CHAP. II.
SECT. III.

When the news of these transactions reached Humáyun, they roused him from the trance of pleasure in which he had too long indulged. Leaving Terdí Beg in charge of Champaur, and having made a second division among his troops of the plunder that had been collected, he marched straight for Ahmedábád, and crossed the Mchmdí, Askerí Mírza, with Yádgár Násir Mírza, and Hindú Beg, being ordered to keep one march in advance of the army. Imad-ul-mulk, emboldened by the success that had hitherto attended his exertions, set out from Ahmedábád with his army, now amounting to fifty thousand men, and prepared to meet him. By a forced march, he suddenly, about mid day, when the heat was most oppressive, and no attack was apprehended, came by surprise upon Askerí Mírza, who was lying, with the advance of the imperial army, between the town of Neriád and Mahmúdábád,—now a heap of ruins, at that time a flourishing city. Yádgár Násir Mírza had taken his ground about a mile to the right, and Hindú Beg his, as much to the left. The Gujrátí army came upon Askerí with such expedition, that he had not time to form his troops, which were scattered in all directions, but he retired, with such as were at hand, into a thicket of thorny milk-bush, that was hard by, and there took up a position. The Gujrátis, without following the Mírza or attempting to improve their victory, dispersed to plunder the

Humáyun
marches
against
Imád.

Imád sur-
prises his
advanced
guard

* The Tabakat, ff 147-397 says fifty thousand. He is said to have given all who joined him with two horse, one lak Gujrátí, 2,500 rupees, according to price. Ma-

homedan Hist. vol. iii p 789

† Akbernama, f 40, Tabakate Akberi, as above, Ferishtah, ii 80, iv 128, Khafi Khan

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Is routed
by the main
army

Humayun
at Ahmed-
ábád

camp They gained, indeed, a rich booty, but fell into inextricable disorder The two wings of the imperial army soon came in sight, marching in battle order At their approach, the enemy at once abandoned the camp; and Askeri Mírza, at the same time, issuing again from the jungle, reared his standard, beat his kettle drums, and pressed upon them in their retreat The Gujrátis were broken and defeated, and were pursued, as far as Ahmedábád, leaving more than two thousand dead on the field When the Emperor reached the scene of action, he is said to have inquired of Khodáwend Khan*, who had been in the service of Beháder, and was well acquainted with the composition of his armies, if he should have another battle to fight, or if the business was over The Khan answered, that, if Imád-ul-mulk was himself in the battle, the business was over, but, if not, that his Majesty might expect another bloody bout Humáyun sought eagerly to discover how the fact stood, and, from two men, who were lying wounded, he ascertained, with pleasure, that that nobleman had himself commanded in the fight †

Next day, the imperial army marched forward, Askeri Mírza commanding the advance, as before When the army reached Kankana ‡ tank, close by Ahmedábád, where it encamped, the Mírza, to whom the Emperor had given the government of that city and the surrounding districts, preferred a request, that the troops should not be allowed indiscriminately to enter the town, as it would be the certain ruin of the place

* Khodáwend Khan was the title of Rumi Khan, now in Humayun's service

† Tabakate Akbari, f 118, Akbernama, f 40 The only intelligible account of the action is that of Nizam-ul-din, the author of the Tabakate Akbari, or Tarikhe Nizami, who had it from his father,

Muhammed Molim Hirvi (of Herat), who was then Mírza Askeri's vazir Abulfizl estimates the loss of the Gujratis at three or four thousand men He mentions Alim Khan Lodi, as commanding the Gujratis left The accounts of Ferishta and Khadi Khan are evidently incorrect
‡ Or, Kufaria — Hamilton

Orders were in consequence issued, to station guards at every gate of the city, and that none but Askeri Mirza and his people should be permitted to enter. The more effectually to preserve the inhabitants from injury, the Emperor led his army across the Sabramati, so as to interpose that river between his camp and the city, and took post at the beautiful village of Sirkich, still an object of interest, from the splendid tombs of the kings of Gujrát, which it contains. From his headquarters thence, accompanied by his principal officers, he visited the magnificent palaces, mosques, and colleges of his new capital, which was then certainly one of the richest and noblest in the world.

CHAP. II
SECT. III

The conquest of Gujrát being now nearly complete, the Emperor turned his thoughts to the settlement of the country and the preservation of what he had gained. Askeri Mirza retained Ahmedábád, and was raised to the dignity of viceroy. The veteran Hindú Beg, with a large force, was to act as minister and commander-in-chief, and to send or carry assistance wherever the exigencies of the service required. Terdi Beg retained Champani, Yádgár Násir Mirza had the district of Patan-Nehrwála, Kásim Husein Sultan, Uzbek, had Barich and Nousári, with the port of Surat, Dost Beg Ishekágha * had Cambay and Baróda, and Mír Bochak Beháder, Mahmúdábád †.

His arrangements for the government of Gujrát

It appears to have been at this crisis that the Emperor was urged by some of his counsellors, especially by Hindú Beg, to make some permanent settlement of the affairs of Gujrát, so as to enable him to march back, with the great body of his army, to the provinces of the Ganges, which, while he was overrunning Malwa and Gujrát, were already suffering deeply from the miseries of invasion and revolt. Their advice was, to

Advice of Hindú Beg

* Chamberlain

† The Tabakát makes a different allotment of some of these places,

giving Baruch to Hindu Beg, and Baróda to Kásim Husein Sultan

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set apart a sum equal to one or two years' pay of his troops, to reserve the rest for future exigencies, and to restore Sultan Beháder, nominally, to the throne of Gujrát. Thus, they affirmed, would not only add to his reputation for generosity, but would enable him to govern that country in the easiest and most peaceful way, and at the same time to provide for the safety of his other dominions. The Emperor, however, could not bear the idea of appearing to give up kingdoms, on the conquest of which he valued himself so much. The future history of his reign proves that the advice was a sound one. It was impossible, with the force that he possessed, to maintain kingdoms so extensive and so scattered as he now occupied, especially as the natives of Gujrát showed a decided partiality for the old dynasty of their kings. Situated as he then was, Beháder would probably have consented to become his vassal, and to have left in his hands the principal forts of the kingdom.

Alarming
intelligence
from Agra,

Humáyun, after having divided the country among his Amírs, pushed on towards Diu in pursuit of Beháder Shah, who had taken refuge there. Scarcely, however, had he reached Dandúka, about thirty kos from Ahmedábád, when he was overtaken by expresses from Agra, bringing him the most alarming intelligence. His long absence from his capital, and the great distance to which he had marched with the main body of his army, so as to be almost lost sight of, had encouraged the disaffected to rise in several quarters. The Afgháns in Behar and in the East were again active. Muhammed Sultan Míza, assisted by his sons, Ulugh and Shah Mírzas, had made himself master of the country from Kanauj to Juánpúr, and caused the Khútba to be read in his own name. Symptoms of commotion and revolt had begun to show themselves even in the provinces on the Jamna, and close around Agra. Dispatches of similar import followed in rapid

and from
Malwa

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state of tranquillity He was fond of the climate of Malwa, and lingered there with pleasure He established several of his most confidential servants in the province, by bestowing on them estates and jágírs, and his affairs once more seemed to assume a promising aspect.

CHAPTER II

AFFAIRS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA

SECTION IV

LOSS OF GUJRÁT AND MALWA

REACTION IN GUJRÁT, IN FAVOUR OF BEHÁDER. — SURAT OCCUPIED IN HIS NAME — AND BARÚCH — AND CAMBAY — AND PATAÑ — INDECISION OF THE IMPERIAL GENERALS — GHÚZANFER DESERTS — BEHÁDER ADVANCES TOWARDS AHMEDÁBÁD — DANGER OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY — DISAFFECTION OF MÍRZA ASKERI — AND THE CHIEFS — PRECIPITATE RETREAT FROM AHMEDÁBÁD — PURSUIT BY BEHÁDER — THE MÍRZA AND HIS ARMY AT CHAMPANÍR — TERDÍ BEG REFUSES TO ADMIT THEM — THEY MARCH TOWARDS AGRA. — BEHÁDER TAKES CHAMPANÍR — AND RECOVERS ALL GUJRÁT — HUMÁYUN INTERCEPTS ASKERI, IN LÚJPUTÁNA — THEY RETURN TO AGRA — STATE OF THE GANGETIC PROVINCES — SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF HINDAL MÍRZA — LOSS OF MALWA — BEHÁDER SHAH AND THE PORTUGUESE — DEATH OF BEHÁDER — FATE OF DIU — ALLEGED REAPPEARANCE OF BEHÁDER. — HIS ADMIRERS RETIRE TO AHMEDÁBÁD — HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS

BUT this was only a transient gleam of prosperity Gujrát had been overrun, indeed, but it was far from being settled. The conquerors were still considered in the light of strangers and marauders. Hardly had Humáyun turned his back on the province, when revolt began to show itself. Beháder Shah had succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Portuguese, by which they agreed to furnish him an auxiliary force. He was also busy in raising a body of five or six thousand Ilabshí or

CHAP II
SECT IV

Reaction in
Gujrát in
favour of
Beháder

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Surat occupied in his name,

and Baruch,

Abyssinian slaves * His partizans, within the country, were not idle Rúm Khan Sefer, the engineer who had conducted the building of Surat castle †, seems to have shut himself up in it, and another officer established a fortified position near Nousári, at the mouth of the Tapti ‡, and they maintained themselves against the invaders, by the aid of the Gujrátí fleet These officers, being joined by Khan Jehán Shirázi, now ventured to act in concert, on the offensive, drove Abdalla Khan, a relation of Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, the governor of the district, from the Nousári territory, after he had held it little more than three months, and seized the city of Surat Abdalla Khan retreated to Barúch, the seat of Kásim Husein's government, while, following up their success, Khan Jehán marched his troops by land towards Barúch, at the same time that Rúmí Khan, with the ships §, in which were embarked the heavy baggage and artillery, sailed round the coast and ascended the Nerbáda to that town Kásim Husein, not prepared for such an attack, abandoned the place, and retired towards Champanír, whence he proceeded to Ahmedábád, to solicit assistance from Askerí Mirza, the viceroy, and Hindú Beg, the commander-in-chief

But these were not the only enemies whom the partizans of Humáyun had to encounter Syed Ishák, who received from Beháder Shah the title of Shutáb

* The Habshis are properly Abyssinians, but negroes of all descriptions are often, in common speech, so called

† General Briggs, Fenshta, (as well as Major Price, Retrospect of Mahomedan History, vol iii p 726 note) supposes that Surat castle was built by Rumi Khan Khodawend Khan, who was Beháder's engineer at the siege of Chetpur, and who afterwards conducted the siege of Chunár for Humayun But Rumi Khan was a common name for chief engineers, who were fre-

quently Rumis or Osmanlı Turks The builder of Surat castle, buried near the Mirza Shámi mosque at Surat, is not Khodawend Khan, (who died at Chunar, after the fall of that place, a deserter from the Gujrát service,) but Rumi Khan Sefer (Akbernama, f 41) who was with Beháder Shah at the time of his death, and who, as here mentioned in the text, retook Surat and Baruch

‡ Or, Tápi

§ Grabs.

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Desertion
of Gházan-
ferBeháder
advances
towards
Ahmedáb-
badDanger of
the impe-
rial armyDisaffection
of Mírza
Askeri and
the chiefs.

God " Gházanfer*, a nobleman of rank, and his own foster brother, whispered to one who sat by him, "That may well be, for he is not himself."† The person to whom the words were addressed, smiled, which the Mírza observing, insisted on knowing the cause, and, when told, was extremely incensed, and placed Gházanfer in confinement. In a few days that officer made his escape, or was released, and deserted, with three hundred horse, to Sultan Beháder, whom he strongly incited to march upon Ahmedábád, assuring him that he was well acquainted with the counsels of the enemy, who were all most anxious to retreat, and were only looking for a pretext. "If you have any doubts," said he, "put me in confinement, march against the Moghuls, and, if they meet you in the field, then punish me as you please." Many invitations coming to Beháder, at the same time, from his numerous adherents in the districts, all urging him to march to their relief, he was finally induced to move upon Ahmedábád. Everywhere he was received by the people with tumultuous acclamations of joy, his army swelled as he moved along, and he soon encamped at the town of Sukech, nearly opposite to the capital.

The situation of the imperial army, at this time, was one of considerable danger. It was in the midst of a hostile, and probably incensed country. Humáyun's troops had been forced to abandon all the principal towns, except Champanír. They had now, however, been concentrated, and Mírza Askeri, — the viceroy, with Hindú Beg, Yádgár Násir Mírza, and Kasim Husein Sultan Uzbek, his principal officers, — encamped at Sirganj, near Asáwel, a suburb of Ahmedábád, on the left bank of the Sabramati, with nearly twenty thousand horse, facing Beháder Shah. It is alleged, that, at this momentous crisis, Hindú Beg strongly

* He was the brother of Kásim Khan

† Or, "but he is not an autocrat," (self-governed)

advised Askeri Mírza, as the only way of preserving Gujrát, to assume the ensigns of royalty, and to declare himself independent, arguing, that not only would this declaration encourage the inhabitants to join him, by the hope of more effectual protection, but that his own soldiers, having then king among them, would be elevated to much higher exertion and daring, and would more cheerfully devote themselves to his service. Askeri Mírza hesitated, but finally rejected the advice, at least in the form in which it was offered.

It does, however, appear that, at a council in which were met Askeri, Yádgái, Hindú Beg, and all the principal Amírs then in Gujrát, Terdí Beg excepted, it was the general opinion that, as Humáyun persisted in remaining at Mándu, and sent them no assistance, it was vain, as matters stood, to think of resisting Beháder Shah in the field, and, acting under the influence of the discontent and disaffection* produced by existing circumstances, they resolved to march to Champaní, to seize upon the treasure, to proceed to Agia, and there declare Askeri Mírza Emperor, and Hindú Beg visír, assigning, at the same time, suitable appointments to all the other Mírzas and officers who joined them. A retreat was accordingly resolved upon, only three days after they had encamped at Sirganj, over against Beháder.

It happened, on the last of these days, that a shot from one of the Mírza's guns struck the audience-tent of the Sultan, and threw it down. Enraged at the occurrence he sent for Gházanfer, that he might deal with him in terms of his own agreement. Gházanfer entreated that the sentence might be deferred till the armies were fairly drawn out, adding, that he still maintained his former opinion, and had sure information that the Mírza was to retreat in the course of the night.

Precipitate
retreat
from Ah-
medabad.

* Tabakate Akberi, f 397

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And, accordingly, the Mírza and his Amírs did retreat, without fighting, and with such precipitation and confusion that they left behind them, not only their stores and heavy baggage, but even their private baggage and wearing apparel, and made a forced march of ten kos, on the road to Champanír. A retreat, under such circumstances, while it emboldened the enemy, disheartened their own adherents, and threatened irremediable ruin to their affairs.

Pursuit by
Beháder

This sudden change roused the activity of Beháder Shah, who had entered upon the campaign with many uneasy forebodings. He now pursued the retreating foe. His advanced body, commanded by Syed Mobárek Bokhári, came up with the imperial rear, under Yádgár Násir Mírza. Yádgár halted his troops, wheeled round, and met the pursuers bravely. A severe action ensued. The Mírza's troops displayed great gallantry, many of the advance were slain, and others fell wounded into the Mírza's hands. The enemy did not follow beyond Mahmúdábád, and Yádgár, unmolested, rejoined the main body of his own army. Askeri Mírza continued his retreat in a state of discouragement and alarm, and with such confusion that many of his soldiery were drowned in crossing the Mehindri, which lay in his route. Beháder Shah advanced as far as that river, and halted.*

The Mírza
and his
army at
Champanír

Terdi Beg
refuses to
admit
them

When the Mírza reached Champanír in his disastrous retreat, Terdi Beg, the governor, who had heard of the plans of defection that had been debated in his council, and had communicated them to the Emperor, received him with caution, and, while he gave the troops all the assistance in his power, did not suffer them to enter the fort. The day after their arrival, the Mírzas sent to inform the Beg, that they and the army under their command were in a state of the most complete destitu-

* For the preceding events, consult the Akbernáma, f 41, Tabakut-e Akberi, f 148 397, Ferishta,

vol II p 81, Bird's Mirát-e Ahmedi, pp 248—250, Jouher, c 2

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A D 1536-7

Beháder
takes
Cham-
panir ,

and re-
covers all
Gujrát.

Humáyun
intercepts
Askeri in
Rájputana

They re-
turn to
Agra

Beháder Shah did not venture to cross the Mahendri, which is only fifteen kos distant, but no sooner did it march in the direction of Agra, than he moved forward and advanced to Champanir. In spite of the strength of the fort, and of its being, it is said, amply supplied with provisions and stores to support a siege, Terdi Beg abandoned the place, and withdrew on capitulation, taking along with him as much of the treasure as he had the means of transporting. He may in this have followed the orders of Humáyun, and, indeed, in the present state of affairs, and with the prospect of retreating from Malwa, the only effect of resistance would be the inevitable destruction of the garrison, and the loss of the whole treasure. The town and fort were immediately occupied by Beháder Shah, who thus saw himself once more in possession of the whole kingdom of Gujrat.

Terdi Beg, on leaving Champanir, repaired directly to Mandu, where he was received with distinction by the Emperor, to whom he had acted a faithful part. To prevent the conspirators from executing their new purpose, Humáyun pushed forward by forced marches for Agra, taking the route of Chetir. By a fortunate accident, the two armies met in the Chetir territory, while on their march. The Mirzas, taken by surprise, saw no remedy but to feign submission and obedience. The Emperor, being in many respects in equal difficulties with themselves, shut his eyes to the past, affected to be satisfied with their explanations, and bestowed upon them princely presents. The united army then marched towards Agra, where its presence was imperiously required.*

* Akbernáma, f 41, Tabakat-e Akberi, ff 149, 397, Ferishta, v ii pp 82, 83, Tar Bedauni, f 140, Jouher, c 2. Jouher, in the original, does not affirm that Iadgar went privately to the go-

vernor, or that he alleged the King's orders, as in transl p 7. His words are, "Nasir Mirza comes into the fort of Champanir, and says to Terdi Beg, 'Give me the treasures.' Terdi Beg answers,

BOOK IV

A D 1537

with all his troops The two armies soon met face to face; but when they were on the point of engaging, a strong north-wester * rising, blew such clouds of dust right in the eyes of the insurgents that they could not keep their position The imperial troops, who had the wind on their backs, availing themselves of their advantage, pressed hard upon the enemy, whose retreat was soon converted into a flight Hindal, after taking possession of Belgrám and the surrounding country, pursued the remainder of their army, as they marched to form a junction with Ulugh Mirza He overtook them at Oud, where Muhammed Sultan and his sons, having concentrated all their force, halted to check his advance The two armies lay opposed to each other for nearly two months, when news arrived, that Humáyun had left Mándu, and was on his way back to Agra This decided Muhammed Sultan to bring on an action, as his only chance of safety He marched out of his trenches, an engagement ensued, in which the imperial troops had the advantage The insurgents, dispirited by their continued want of success, began to despair, and soon after dispersed Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and three of his sons, fled to Kuch-Behár †, while Mirza Hindal, following up his advantage, went on to Juánpúr Having soon after heard of Humáyun's arrival at the capital, he left the army and joined his brother there ‡

Loss of
Malwa.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was less fortunate on the side of Malwa No sooner was it known in the surrounding countries that he was on his march back to Agra, than Bhopal Rai, the chief of Bijagar, a district that lies to the east of Malwa, finding that no garrison was left in Mándu, entered and occupied the place There he was speedily joined by Milu Khan, who

* Bád-e-kibla

† Akbernama, f 41, Jouher,

‡ Jouher has Koh-Khanda Behar c 2
near Parnian (or, Parbatán)

aspired to the throne, which he ascended under the title of Káder Shah, and by Mirán Muhammed Fárúki of Kandesh. As the Emperor's troops appear to have been entirely withdrawn, they met with no opposition anywhere, and soon took possession of the whole country, and thus the kingdom of Malwa, as well as that of Gujrat, slipped from the unsteady grasp of Humáyun.*

CHAP II
SECT IV

But while the course of events was thus once more so favourable to Beháder Šah, that monarch was not doomed long to enjoy his prosperity. Fourteen days after the fall of Champanír, he hastened back to Diu. His negotiations with the Portuguese had become complicated. When his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, he had received some assistance from them, as has been mentioned, and, at the same time, had sent rich presents to the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, inviting him to come to his aid with a more powerful force. The Viceroy, Nuño d'Acuña, had accordingly obeyed his call, and set sail from Goa and Chewel, with a large fleet and army. But when he reached the coast of Gujrát, understanding that the Emperor of Delhi's troops had in the interval been driven out of the country, he began to apprehend, that, as his services were no longer necessary, he might not gain those advantages to himself and his followers, and that increase of territory to his country, which he had anticipated. Some quarrels had arisen before the King's arrival, between the Portuguese and his officers, in consequence of the insulting pretensions and encroaching spirit of the former. Beháder would gladly have seen his troublesome allies removed from Diu, where the building of the new fort was hurried on upon a plan infinitely more extensive than had been reckoned upon. Both parties, however, dissembled their feelings.

Transactions between Beháder Shah and the Portuguese.

A H 943,
A D. 1537

* Akbernama, ut supra.

Ramzán 3,
Feb 13

Beháder Shah, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Diu, attempted to restore confidence by acting with the utmost frankness, putting himself boldly in the power of the governor of the castle, and visiting him in his fort. The Viceroy, who arrived off Diu about this time, appears to have blamed the governor for not availing himself of the opportunity thus offered to seize the King, for the purpose of extorting from him the cession of some towns and sea-ports which he was anxious to possess. To repair this oversight, D'Acuña feigned sickness, and sent a message to inform Beháder, who had spent some days in the vicinity in hunting, that he was come, at his call, with powerful succours, and would wait upon him as soon as his health allowed. The Sultan, thrown off his guard, or perhaps suspecting no ill as intending none, laid ceremony aside, and towards the close of the day rowed off from the shore, with only a few attendants and went aboard the admiral's ship, to visit him, and to inquire after his health. No sooner, however, did he see the Viceroy, than he plainly perceived that his illness was a mere pretence, and felt vexed that he had gone. The Viceroy, on his part, had probably been taken unprepared by Beháder's sudden and unexpected appearance. During the conversation that ensued, a page came in and whispered something in his ear. In the state of mind in which the King then was, this little incident increased his uneasiness and excited his suspicion. He continued to sit, however, though the intercourse was forced and constrained, till the Viceroy, rising, requested to be excused for a few moments, as he wished to show his Majesty some presents that were intended for his acceptance, and left the cabin. This confirmed the suspicions of the King, who hurriedly intimating a desire that they might be sent after him, started up and hastened to his boat. He reached it and put off, when Emanuel de Souza, the governor of Diu castle,

coming up in his barge *, invited him to visit the new fortifications. Rûmî Khan Sefer, who was in the boat with the King, advised him to decline the invitation, as treachery was probably intended, but the King desired de Souza to come into the boat. De Souza, in attempting to step from his own barge into the King's, fell into the sea, but was taken up by Behâder's attendants. This occasioned considerable bustle and confusion, the cause was unknown, but the act of dragging de Souza into the boat, was observed by the Portuguese in the numerous vessels that lay on every side. Hastily concluding that an attempt was made upon their countrymen's life, in their eagerness to succour him, they closed round the King's boat, into which some of them leaped. The instant consequence was uproar and menace, blows speedily succeeded. Behâder, totally unprepared for such an occurrence, and now confirmed in his suspicions of treachery, threw himself into the sea, and was followed by Rûmî Khan. After swimming for some time towards the shore, as he approached a Portuguese vessel, one of the officers held out an oar to assist him in getting in, when a soldier who stood by, struck him on the face with a halbert, and his example was imitated by others of his comrades, who repeated their blows, till Behâder sank dead in the water. Rûmî Khan was saved by a Portuguese to whom, on some former occasion, he had shown kindness. De Souza, the governor, was struck and fell overboard, during the scuffle in the King's boat. Neither his body nor that of the King could be found †.

This scene passed before the eyes of the inhabitants Fate of Dîu

* Abulfazl's account is, that a Feringi magistrate, (Kazi Fering) by which, I suppose, the governor de Souza is meant) having stepped before him as he left the Viceroy, insisted on his remaining, upon which the Sultan, drawing his sabre, cut him down, and leapt into his

own boat, seeing this, the Portuguese boats that were around closed in, and Behâder and Rûmî leaped into the sea.

† Akbarnama, ff 41, 42, Tabakat e Akberi, ff 397, 398, Feringhta, and General Briggs's note, vol. iv. pp 130—141.

BOOK IV

A. D. 1537

of Diu. They were filled with alarm at the sight, and, as they concluded that their town would be instantly plundered by the Portuguese, leaving their houses, and abandoning all their property, they rushed in such numbers to escape from the place, that many were crushed to death in the crowds that overflowed at the gates, while numbers were drowned in crossing the narrow channel that separates the island from the mainland. The Viceroy left no effort untried to quiet the fears of the survivors, and to bring back the rich traders and other inhabitants of the town, but at the same time he took possession of the King's palace, the arsenals, and all the public magazines. Only a small sum in money was said to have been found by the officers commissioned to take possession of the treasury*, which gave rise to the belief, that they, as well as the Viceroy himself, were guilty of extensive embezzlement, but the jewels, furniture, artillery and stores certainly seized, are said to have been of immense value, besides an hundred and twenty ships, which also fell into their hands†. Each party charged the other with treachery.

* Lafitau, vol 1 pp 256, 257

† Beháder Shah was the most magnificent, and for some time the most fortunate, prince of his age. When first driven from Champanír, in his despair, he had resolved to abdicate the throne and pass the rest of his life at Mekka. The Turkish historian, Ferdi, according to Chevalier de Hammer, "relates," says General Briggs, "that when Beháder Shah was compelled to retreat to Diu, he sent his family and the royal jewels to Medina. They consisted of three hundred iron chests, the accumulated wealth acquired from the Hindu princes of Junagar, Champanír, Abugar, and Chetúr, and also the property of the kings of Malwa. These gorgeous treasures never returned to India,

but fell into the hands of the Grand Signior of Constantinople, who, from their possession, became entitled to the appellation of Soliman the Magnificent. The celebrated waist-belt, valued at three millions of aspers, which had been three times taken and retaken in the wars of India, was sent to Soliman, by the ambassador whom Beháder Shah deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Grand Signior against Humáyun." Briggs's *Ferishtah*, vol iv p 141

The original accounts of the death of the Sultan, as given by the principal Indian and Portuguese authorities, have been extracted at considerable length by Gen Briggs, (iv pp 131—141) who concludes, that Beháder and the Viceroy "were

in this melancholy affair. That Beháder, if actuated by evil intentions, should have put himself unattended in the power of his enemy, seems hardly credible. The Viceroy, without desiring his death, would probably have willingly seen him his prisoner. The catastrophe was evidently brought on prematurely, by accidental circumstances. The conduct of the Portuguese after the event, may be held as the best proof of their disposition before it. The spirit which in that age regulated the proceedings of Europeans towards the princes of America or of Asia and their subjects, was that of the most unprincipled cruelty and rapacity, in no degree superior to that of the buccaneers of a later period. The Portuguese have kept possession of Diu, thus acquired, from that time to the present day.

Sultan Beháder was only about thirty years of age, and had reigned between eleven and twelve years, when he was cut off. The internal confusion and misery which followed made his subjects long look back with regret to the splendid, and, in general, tranquil period of his reign, while the deplorable circumstances attending his death, which deprived him of all funeral honours, produced a belief, in this as in several similar instances fondly indulged by the common people, that the King

Alleged re-
appearance
of Beháder

resolved each to seize the other, that the followers of both knew the intentions of their respective masters, and suspected the opposite party, so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed but such an affray as arose, originating entirely out of an accident, which blew the embers of suspicion and mistrust into a blaze, and produced the melancholy result which has been related." *Ibid* p. 141. I have taken rather a different view of the subject. I see no evidence that Beháder had formed any design against the person of the Viceroy. In case of need he probably would not have been very

scrupulous as to the means he employed to defeat the aims of the Portuguese, but, in fact, his whole conduct was conciliatory. He put himself unarmed and defenceless into the power of his enemy. He was passive in the whole affair. No overt act of treachery on his part appears. He had little to gain by seizing the Viceroy, it would only have transferred the command to the next in rank. The case was different had the Viceroy got the King into his power. The Portuguese, by their conduct after the event, threw light on their intentions before it.

BOOK IV was not really dead, and would one day return to govern
 A D 1537 his dominions with glory. Many pretended that he reached the shore, and there were various reports of his reappearance, on different occasions, both in Gujât and the Dekkan. It was, in particular, currently reported and believed that a person appeared in Nizâm-ul-mûlk's territory, whom that prince acknowledged as Behâder Shah, and as such played with him at chougân*, that, a crowd gathering about him, the concourse of people was marked by the Nizam with some uneasiness, and the same night the stranger disappeared from his tent, having been put to death, as was conjectured, by that prince. It is added, that Mûlla Kûtub-ed-dîn, of Shirâz, who had been Behâder's preceptor, was then in the Dekkan, and conversed with the stranger, and that he affirmed, with the most solemn asseverations, that it was Behâder, and that he reminded the Mîrza of many incidents of which they alone were cognizant †

His mother
and nobles
retire to
Ahmeda-
bâd

As soon as the death of Behâder was ascertained, the Portuguese viceroy sent to Makhdûma Jehan, the King's mother, at once to condole with her on the melancholy event, and to remove all blame from himself. He ascribed the whole unfortunate affair to unpremeditated and unforeseen accident, and offered to lend her any assistance which it might be in his power to afford at the present juncture. But she rejected his offers with indignation, considering him as the murderer of her son, and, accompanied by the Prince of Asîr, and the principal nobles, set out for Ahmedâbâd.

His imme-
diate suc-
cessors

While they were on the road, and while all Behâder's household and family were overwhelmed with sorrow, Muhammed Zemân Mîrza, who had returned from the fruitless expedition against Lahûr, on which he had been sent by the late king after the dispersion at Mandûn, fell in with them, and professing the deepest distress, joined the camp, under pretence of assisting in the usual rites

* Horse-shooty

† Alberama, f. 19

of mourning. By his show of sympathy, and his soothing attentions, he so far insinuated himself into the queen-mother's favour, that she is said to have been prevailed upon to adopt him as her son. He succeeded in seizing a large portion of the public treasures of Gujrat from those who had charge of them, though, of the royal treasure and stores in Din, part had been plundered during the confusion, and the rest had fallen into the hands of Akuma. He at first made a show of revenging the murder of Behader on the Portuguese, but soon after, observing the extent of their power, he altered his plan, courted their support, and sought, by large sums of money to induce them to proclaim him Sultan. In this he at last succeeded, the khutba being read in his name in the Sefi Mosque, at Din, under their authority. He collected an army of twelve thousand men, Moghuls and Hindustanis, and for some time maintained the style of a sovereign prince. But Imad-ul-mulk, supported by the nobles of Gujrat, having proclaimed Miran Muhammed Shah Fanka, of Khundesh, a sister's son of Behader's, who was at that time driving the imperial troops from Malwa, to be king of Gujrat, marched against Muhammed Zeman, attacked and dispersed his forces, and compelled him to fly to Sind. Muhammed Zeman did not remain long there, as his presence was far from being agreeable to Shah Hisan, the ruler of that country, so that he, at last, found himself under the necessity of once more retreating to Hindustan, and of throwing himself on the clemency of the offended Humayun. The new king, Miran Muhammed Shah, reigned only six weeks, and was succeeded by Mahmud Khan, another nephew of Behader Shah, who reigned several years under the name of Mahmud Shah. He was a son of Behader's brother, Latif Khan, who was at that time a prisoner in Burhanpur.*

A. H. 944,
A. D. 1539* Albermarle, f. 12, Briggs's *Perishta*, vol. iv. pp. 112—114.

CHAPTER III

AFFAIRS OF KHORÁSÁN AND KANDAHÁR

STATE OF KHORÁSÁN — INROADS OF OBEID KHAN, AND THE UZBEKS —
 THEY ARE EXPELLED FROM KHORÁSÁN — AGAIN OVERRUN IT — AND
 BESIEGE HERÁT — WHICH IS RELIEVED BY SHAH TAHMASP — THE
 UZBEKS ONCE MORE EXPELLED — JÁM MÍRZA IN HERÁT AND KAN-
 DAHÁR. — SIEGE OF THE LATTER PLACE — RAISED BY KÁMRÁN —
 WHO ROUTS THE INVADERS — ATTEMPTS ON LÁHÚR, BY MUHAMMAD
 ZEMÁN MÍRZA — NEW INVASION OF KHORÁSÁN BY THE UZBEKS —
 OBEID KHAN BESIEGES MESHIHD — AND HERÁT — WHICH IS RE-
 LIEVED — ADVANCE OF SHAH TAHMASP — AND RETREAT OF THE
 UZBEKS — TAHMASP OCCUPIES KANDAHÁR — WHICH IS RETAKEN BY
 KÁMRÁN

BOOK IV

State of
 Khorásán,
 A D 935,
 A D 1529

Inroads of
 Obeid Khan
 and the
 Uzbeks

They are
 expelled
 from Kho-
 rásán,

WHILE these events were passing in Malwa and Gujrát, Khorásán and the Persian frontier were the scene of important transactions. After the great defeat which the Uzbeks sustained at Jám, about nine years before this time, it was expected that Khorásán would, for a long period, have been delivered from their inroads and invasions. But they were an enemy not easily daunted. That same year, as soon as Shah Tahmasp had quitted the province, Obeid Khan again collected an army, crossed the Amu, and marched against Meshihd, which he took possession of, after a blockade of two months. Thence he proceeded to Herát, besieged it for seven months, and took it by capitulation. His Sunni zeal is said, by the Persian writers, to have led him to retaliate the Shía persecutions of Shah Ismael and his successor, and even to put to death many of the opposite sect, as Shías and heretics.

Next year, the victorious Uzbek advanced to Farra, which he beleaguered for some time, but without success, so that he was compelled to raise the siege, and, on

hearing of the march of Shah Tahmasp into Khorásán, at the head of seventy thousand men, he hastily abandoned Herát, and retreated to Merv. He summoned all the force of the Uzbeks to join him there, and the Sultans, from beyond the Amu, obeyed his call. But when met, their opinions differed. Kuehum Khan, of Samarkand, the Grand Khan, dying, was succeeded by his son Abusaíd, who set his face against the war, declaring his resolution not to join in it, and advising Obeid to desist. His views were supported by some other chiefs, and Obeid, seeing himself thus deserted, and hearing of the Shah's near approach, turned his back, with an indignant heart, upon Khorásán. Shah Tahmasp, having expelled the enemy, marched to Herát, and the fish-standard of Persia again gleamed over the whole province. Having established his brother Behrám Mirza as viceroy, with Gházi Khan, of the Taklu tribe, as his Protector and Amír-ul-omra, he returned to Irák.

Obeid Khan, though unsupported by the Uzbek confederacy, next year sent a detachment into Khorásán, who marched as far as Meshhíd, but were driven back by the local force. Nothing dismayed, however, by this repulse, he, the following season, again entered the country with a powerful host, having induced the other Uzbeks to join him, and marched straight for the capital, while divisions of his troops overran the provinces of Meshhíd, Asterábád, Sebzáwái and Bostám with various success. For a year and a half, the country was plundered in all directions, and Obeid continued to push on the siege of Herát. Shah Tahmasp, completely and painfully occupied by the rebellion of Aláma Taklu in Azerbáiyán, who had called in the Osmanlı Turks to his assistance, was unable to succour them. At length, famine began to rage in the besieged capital. The inhabitants were expelled, their provisions, money and property seized by the domineering Taklus, and the floors of their houses dug up to discover hidden trea-

CHAP. III.

A. H. 936,
A. D. 1530Again over-
run it
A. H. 937,
A. D. 1531A. H. 938,
A. D. 1532and besiege
Herát

BOOK IV sure Cats and dogs, and food deemed the most impure, were eagerly eaten. The strength of the troops, who suffered alike from want and fatigue, began to fail. An offer was made to give up the place, provided Obeid would withdraw his troops a march or two, so as to let the garrison quit the city unmolested. He, on the other hand, haughtily insisted that they should march out and defile under his tent-ropes*. This condition Behrám Míza and his Taklu allies rejected, and the operations of the siege were continued.

which is
relieved by
Shah Tah-
masp,

Meanwhile, however, Tahmasp, having quelled the rebellion of Aláma, was proceeding by forced marches to the relief of Herát. A party that he sent out surprised the Uzbeks who were in Asterábád, one morning when most of them were in the bath, put them to death with little resistance, and sent him five hundred heads. The Uzbeks, who held Sebráwár, were in like manner attacked, but retired fighting bravely, first to Nishapúr, and then to Meshhíd. Abdal-azíz, who was near that city, hurried to Herát with seven thousand horse, to support his father. Obeid did not venture to meet the Shah in the field, and retired to Bokhára, while Shah Tahmasp once more entered Herát, to the great joy of the inhabitants, and spent the winter in the neighbourhood.

and the
Uzbeks
once more
repelled
Jemádl II
2

A D 1532,
Dec 30

A D 939,
A D 1533

In the spring, he sent a division of his troops to reduce the adjoining province of Ghujistán among the mountains, and was preparing to retaliate upon the Uzbeks by invading Máwer-al-neher, when the news that his grand enemy, Soliman the magnificent, was on his march to attack his dominions in the west, compelled him to relinquish his intention. As the Taklu Turks had been guilty of great oppression during the government of their chief, and were very unpopular, he named his brother, Sám Mírza, to be Viceroy, ap-

* Tenáb e-Khíma

BOOK IV

Unsuccessful attempt on Láhúr by Muhammed Zémán Mírza

death The Mírza effected his escape to the Germisír, whence he soon after proceeded to Tabas Having by this exploit secured the western part of his dominions, Kámrán returned back to Láhúr

It was while he was absent on this expedition, that Muhammed Zémán Mírza, who, it will be recollected, after the rout of Beháder Shah at Mandsír, had set out to try his fortune, or to make a diversion on the side of the Penjáb, reached the borders of Sind Shah Hussein, the son of Shah Shuja Beg Arghún, the sovereign of Sind, unwilling that an ambitious prince of such pretensions should enter his dominions, encouraged him to proceed to the conquest of Láhúr, which he represented as a tempting and practicable object, since Kámrán was absent with the army in Kandahár, so that that fertile and populous country was left comparatively defenceless The Mírza accordingly went on to the Penjáb and laid siege to Láhúr But unfortunately for his views, Kámrán Mírza returned victorious at that very crisis, and the invader saw himself forced to retire with precipitation, and to return to Gujrát, which he reached with a few followers in the utmost want and misery We have seen that he there enjoyed a short-lived sovereignty, before he was compelled to flee once more to Sind, and finally to Hindustán

New invasion of Khorásán by the Uzbeks, A. D. 911, A. D. 1535

The march of Sáim Mírza to attack Kandahár, was a signal for the Uzbeks to renew their incursions In the north, a body of five or six thousand entered and laid waste Khorásán Sufián Khalífa, the governor of Mesh-híd, an undaunted but hot-headed soldier, was successful in coming up with, and defeating them To the eastward, another incursion was made from Ghuzjstán Khalífa Sultan Shanlu, whom the Protector had left governor of Herát, having marched to repel them, with a motley and ill-assorted body of troops, collected in haste, in absence of the regular forces, was attacked, defeated and slain The inhabitants of Herát, thus left

without a head, sent to invite Sufián to take charge of the capital, his success in desultory warfare having gained him great reputation all over the province. Leaving his son in Meshhíd, he obeyed their call. CHAP. III

Obeid Khan, finding that Khorásán continued without troops, and without a governor, once more crossed the Amu at the head of an immense army, and besieged Meshhíd. Despatches were sent to recal Sufián, who promised soon to be at the holy city, when he would slay Obeid, and send his skin to the King, stuffed with straw. Setting out from Herát with only three thousand horse, he, on the road, filled a bag with hay, and ostentatiously carried it along with him, lest the Uzbeks, by not leaving a blade of grass around Meshhíd, might defeat his host. The first detachment that he met, he dispersed, but getting nearer the town in his insane career, he was hard pressed and compelled to take shelter in an old ruin, where he obstinately defended himself several days, subsisting his followers on the flesh of their horses, but was in the end taken and put to death.

Obeid Khan
besieges
Meshhíd,
A. D. 942,
A. D. 1536.

The unfortunate city of Herát was now again in imminent hazard. The lieutenant whom Sufián had left in charge of it, used his endeavours to make the people of the town and country join in its defence. But the severities that he exercised for that purpose disgusted and enraged them, so that they sent to call even the Uzbeks to their relief. Obeid, arriving, besieged the city for five months, while the inhabitants endured all the miseries of war and famine. At length, three hundred Uzbeks, having gained entrance by night into a bastion, it is said by treachery, the city was taken, the garrison flying into the citadel of Ekhtiár-ed dín. All the horrors of a city taken by storm ensued. Obeid afterwards gained possession of the citadel by a treaty*,

and Herát,
which is
taken and
plundered

* Alem-arai-Abasi, f. 28

BOOK IV

in which it was stipulated that the garrison were to be allowed to march out with all their property. But, as they left the fort, they were all stripped naked and marched for Bokhára, the greater part of them perishing miserably by the way.

Advance of
Shah
Tahmasp,
A. H. 943,
A. D. 1537,

and retreat
of the Uz-
beks.

During four months, Obeid held possession of Herát, and the Sunni persecution of the Shíás was renewed. At length, Shah Tahmasp, compassionating the sufferings of his subjects, seized an interval of comparative peace, and set out for Khorásán. As he approached, Obeid Khan, eager to keep permanent possession of that province, proposed to meet him in the field. The other Uzbek chiefs, however, preferred a retreat, and, though it was then winter, the invading army set out to regain their own country by the route of Balkh. Tahmasp reached Herát unopposed, and sent to Tabas to bring Sâm Mírza, who had shut himself up in that town after his flight from Kandahár. He was pardoned for his rebellious designs, and for the invasion he had made, as was pretended, without the royal authority, and some of his servants were put to death, as being his evil advisers. Khorásán was now committed to Sultan Muhammed Mírza, another young prince, and Muhammed Khan Sherf-ed-dín Ughlí Taklu, was placed beside him in Herát, as Protector, and Amír-ul-omra.

Tahmasp
occupies
Kandahár,

Having cleared Khorásán of enemies, and provided for its safety and the proper administration of affairs, Shah Tahmasp now turned his eyes to the side of Kandahár. That province had been dependent on Herát in the days of its prosperity, and the Shah, though he had pretended to be ignorant, and to disapprove, of Sâm Mírza's attack on it, now entered it himself with a powerful army. The capital does not seem to have been placed in a sufficiently defensible state, after the late siege. Khwája Kilán, from the want of provisions and scarcity of military stores, seeing no hopes of being able to stand a siege, resolved to shun an in-

effectual contest, put in order his palace, which was magnificently furnished, and arranged all its rich carpets and sumptuous gold and silver plate, to be ready for the reception of the Shah. He then left orders with his deputy, Kamr Khwaja, that, on his Majesty's approach he should present him with the keys of the fort and public offices and deliver a message in his name—that as the Khwaja from want of warlike stores, had not the means of either defending the place or of meeting him in the field,—as, if able, he would have done,—he thought that the next most honourable course he could pursue was to put his house in order, and in that condition, leave it for the guest whom he could not entertain in person. He then withdrew, and retired, by way of Sind and Uch, to Lahur. Mirza Kamran was much offended at this conduct and did not admit him to his presence for a whole month after his arrival, complaining, that the Khwaja had not held out even for a short time so as to admit of his being relieved. The Khwaja's valour, judgment and fidelity were indisputable, and this attempt to soften the asperity of war may, perhaps, be regarded not only as a proof of the refinement of the man the friend of Baber, and of the politeness that originated in the liberal studies so successfully cultivated in the Court of that prince, but, perhaps as a symptom of the growing civilisation of the age so rudely checked by the confusion and turmoil that followed.

Kamran lost no time in preparing a force for another expedition against Kandahar. Leaving his cousin, Mirza Hader Dughlat, who had lately arrived from Keshgar by way of Badakshan, to conduct the government of Lahur in his absence, he set out. But before Kamran's arrival, Shah Tahmasp had quitted Kandahar, which he left under the charge of Bidagh^{*}

which is
referred to by
Kamran.

* Or, Badak

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A H 944,
 A D. 1538

Khan Kajar, a great noble of his Court, and of the tribe of the present royal family of Persia. The fort sustained a siege of some length, when Bidágh Khan capitulated and surrendered it, on condition of being allowed to return home with his troops. Kámrán, having put the place in a state of defence, marched back to Láhúr.

Though two or three inroads were made into Khorásán by the Uzbeks, during the life of Obeid Khan, who died A H 949, no great invasion was attempted, and that province remained in possession of the Persians during that period, and enjoyed comparative tranquillity.*

* For the events in Khorásán and Kandahár, see the *Alem-aráú-Abási*, ff 24—28, *Akbernáma*,

MS A f 39, MS B f 77, *Tabakat-e Akberi*, ff 146—149, *Tarikh-e Bedáuni*, f 140

CHAPTER IV

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL

SECTION I

STATE OF BENGAL — HISTORY OF SHIR KHAN

STATE OF THE EMPIRE — SHIR KHAN IN BEHĀR AND BENGAL — INDOLENCE OF THE EMPEROR AT AGRA — SHĪR KHAN, HIS CHARACTER, FAMILY, AND HISTORY — REPAIRS TO THE COURT OF SULTAN IBRĪHĪM LODI — SUCCEEDS TO HIS FATHER'S JAGIRS — OVERTHROW OF THE AFGHĀN DYNASTY BY BĀBER — SHĪR KHAN FAVOURED BY THE AFGHĀN KING OF BEHĀR — HIS ELEVATION — INTRIGUES OF HIS ENEMIES — DIVISION OF HIS JĠGIRS ORDERED — HE REFUSES TO DIVIDE THEM — AND IS EXPELLED — REINSTATED BY HIM FROM ONE OF BĀBER'S GOVERNORS — INCREASES HIS RESOURCES — VISITS BĀBER AT AGRA — MEDITATES A RESTORATION OF THE AFGHĀN EMPIRE — WITHDRAWS SUDDENLY FROM THE COURT — IS RECONCILED TO THE KING OF BEHĀR — BECOMES PRIME MINISTER — AND REPELS AN INVASION — A CONSPIRACY FORMED AGAINST HIM — THE KING FLIES FROM BEHĀR — WHICH IS INVADED FROM BENGAL — THE INVASION DEFEATED BY SHIR KHAN — RIVAL CLAIMANTS OF THE CROWN — SULTAN MAHMUD LODI ACKNOWLEDGED — EXPELLED BY BĀBER, WHO OCCUPIES BEHĀR — SHIR KHAN EXTENDS HIS JĠGIRS AND POWER — ACQUIRES CHUNĀR — SULTAN MAHMUD RENEWS HIS PRETENSIONS — IS JOINED BY SHIR KHAN — ADVANCE OF HUMĀYUN — TREACHERY OF SHIR KHAN, AND DISPERSION OF THE AFGHĀN FORCES — SHIR KHAN RETAINS CHUNĀR AND HIS JĠGIRS — CONSOLIDATES HIS RESOURCES — PLUNDERS TO THE NORTH OF THE GANGES — TAKES POSSESSION OF SOUTHERN BEHĀR — AND INVADES BENGAL

WHEN Humayun reached Agia, on his return from Guyrāt and Malwa, he found the affairs of the empire in

BOOK IV

A D 1536

State of the
Empire on
Humáyun's
return from
Malwa.

A D 943,

A D 1536

great disorder We have seen that, from the time of his accession, there were dangers to his government, which it required a strong and steady hand to avert Even in his own court, the fidelity of several of his great Amírs, some of them the most distinguished among the Túrki and Chaghatái nobles who had accompanied Báber in his wars, was tottering and had failed Muhammed Zemán Mírza, as well as Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, had broken out in open rebellion, and, though defeated, the latter of them were still in arms The situation of the country itself favoured such attempts It was but recently subdued, and the emperor's followers were strangers to the inhabitants A great proportion of the kingdom of Delhi was composed of little states, more or less independent, and not easily reduced to order Even in the Doáb, and in the vicinity of Agra itself, there had for ages been a set of refractory chieftains, who willingly seized every opportunity, when the power or attention of the government was relaxed, to indulge in plundering depredations, and while Humáyun was absent in Malwa and Gujrát, these freebooters had carried their inroads to the very gates of the capital Such petty and unsettled states were ever ready to join a bold adventurer

Shír Khan
in Behár
and Bengal

But the most concentrated opposition to his arms was presented in the eastern provinces of Juánpúr and Behár. These countries had, at no distant time, been the seat of an independent kingdom, which, though it had been subdued by Sultan Sekander Lodí, had revived under a new dynasty, the Lobáni, in the time of his son Sultan Ibráhím, and had only recently been again subdued by Báber A bold attempt made by the Afgháns to renew, in that kingdom, the Lodí Dynasty of Delhi, under Sultan Mahmúd Lodí, Ibráhím's brother, had been defeated only by the energy of that illustrious prince All the materials of revolt and resistance, however, were amply scattered over the

Eastern provinces. They had for many years been the theatre of war, the minds of the inhabitants were unsettled, had become familiarised to change, and were almost strangers to regular government. Though the old Sherka, and the more recent Lohani dynasty had disappeared, and though the attempts of Sultan Mahmud Lodi, and of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, to revive the kingdom had failed. Shur Khan Súr, a new candidate for distinction and power, though as yet in an humbler form, had started up, was extending and consolidating his influence, gradually but with consummate skill in Behar and on the side of Bengal, and by his valour in the field and the equity of his financial administration was gaining the admiration and the affection of his subjects. The Afgháns, in every part of India began to turn their eyes to him, as the leader, who at some future time might be destined to restore to them that proud ascendancy of their nation the loss of which every man of them so deeply deplored.

As Humayun, in his expedition to the westward, had necessarily been attended by a large proportion of his best troops, some of the provinces on the Jamma and Ganges were held by very scanty detachments. This circumstance, the long absence of the Emperor from his capital, and latterly his losses and want of success, had encouraged the discontented and turbulent, so that, though Humdal Mirza had been successful in quelling the revolt of Muhammad Sultan in Jaunpúr, a great part of the country was in a very unquiet state.

Humayun, for some time after his return, fixed his residence at Agra. The loss of the kingdoms which he had subdued with so much glory, and the generally unfavourable posture of his affairs, preyed upon his mind, and affected his spirits and his health. He sought relief in the habitual use of opium, which, if for a time it deadened his uneasy feelings, soon affected both his judgment and his temper. For about a year,

CHAP. IV
SECT. I.

Indolence
of the Em-
peror at
Agra.

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A D 1536-7

he passed most of his time in his private apartments, and rarely held any councils. He could not, however, overlook the disorders that disturbed the immediate neighbourhood of his capital. They were soon quelled, and heavy contributions raised on the offending zemíndárs, in punishment of their rebellious or predatory inroads.* It had been his resolution that his first expedition, when he again took the field, should have for its object to wipe off the stain upon his glory, by once more conquering Malwa and Gujíát. But there were soon demands for his presence much nearer at hand.

Shír Khan,
A D 944,
A D 1537

About the end of this period, Sultan Juncid Birlás died, a veteran of great eminence, who for some years had governed Juánpúr and the eastern provinces, and who, by his talents and the weight of his character, had restrained the ambitious attempts of Shír Khan, now decidedly at the head of the Afgháns in India, both in genius and reputation. No sooner, however, was that restraint removed by his death, than Shír Khan, who already possessed a great part of Behár, ventured to launch out into bolder enterprises, and to turn his undivided force against the province of Bengal, and his success in that quarter was such as speedily to break even the slumbers of Humáyun.

His character,

Shír Khan, who, afterwards became king of Delhi under the title of Shír Shah, was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Tannu, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours. But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that,

* Akbarnama, f 12, Ierishta, iv 83, Kháfí Khan, 15

with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due

His original name was Ferid, he was the son of Hasan and grandson of Ibráhim*, an Afghán of the tribe of Súr, who dwelt near Peslawer. The family claimed descent from the ancient kings of Ghúr, who reigned in the mountains that lie between Kabul and Herat, and Icrishita, on the supposition that the Súr family had established this claim, holds it to be the most illustrious of the Afgháns † The marriages which they formed in that part of the Afghán country to which they removed ‡, prove them to have been of what was deemed an honorable race though Abulfazl relates that Ibráhim was originally a horse-dealer. It is by no means improbable that even a well-born Afghan may have engaged in that occupation or that, when leaving his own country for India, he may have invested his little fortune in a venture of horses, as is often done at this day. Ibráhim arrived in India in the reign of Sultan Behlúl Lodi, in search of military service, which he procured served under some Amirs of distinction, and remained for a time, first at Hissár Firúza and after-

CHAP. IV
SECT. I

and family

* The *Atkernama*, f. 81, calls Ibráhim the grandfather, Shiber-Haid, or according to Col. Price's reading, Shirakhil. The *Nisab-nama* c. Afghání, f. 81, makes Hasan Khan the father, to be of the tribe (*tufta*) of Mati, and family or clan (*ghibila*) of Súr.

† Vol. ii. p. 99. The *Tar Bed* f. 145, describes him as being *az deh Ich ibarat az Afghán est*, "the town that takes its name from the Afghán." Can this be Deh-Afghán in a suburb of Kabul?

‡ When Sultan Behlúl was seated on the throne, he invited a number of his countrymen from Rohi, a district inhabited by the Afghans

"Rohi," continues the author of the *Tabákát e Akbari*, "has the same meaning as Rohi (a hill). The country comprehended under that name extends in length from Swat and Bajour to the township of Siwi, which is dependent on Blicher, and in breadth from Hasan-Abdál to Kabul and Kandahar. It is bounded by the Díman-koh." *Tab. Akb.* ff. 35, 169. A similar passage occurs in *Icrishita*. This extent of country includes nearly the whole of Afghánistán-Proprié. Instead of the words following "Hasan Abdál to Kabul," the *Tarikh e Nizami*, f. 207, reads, "Kandahar lies on the confines of this hill-country."

BOOK IV wards at Shámli, or Simla, a district in the province
 ————— of Agra *

Ibráhím's son, Hasan, who was born in Hissár, early in life entered the employment of Rái-mal, a Hindu (the grandfather of Rái-Sál, an officer of eminence in Akber's court), under whom he probably gained some insight into revenue concerns. He afterwards went to Juna, in the district of Sahsarám, in Behár, to Nasír Khan Loháni, one of Sekander Lodi's most powerful nobles, in whose employment he remained some time, and having, by his faithful service and intelligence, distinguished himself among his equals, was admitted into his master's confidence. On Nasír Khan's death, Hasan entered into the service of that nobleman's brother, Doulat Khan, and from him passed into that of Baban Khan Jilwáni, a distinguished Afghán chief, in which he advanced himself, was actively employed in much business of importance, and became his principal adviser. His reputation finally became such that when Jemál Khan was appointed to the government of Juánpúr, he was taken into his service, in which he spent the rest of his life, received from him in jágír the valuable districts of Sahsarám and Kháwáspúr-Tánda, places dependent on Rhotas in Behár, and was sent to take possession of them with five hundred horse †

And his-
 tory

Hasan's eldest son was Ferid, afterwards known with so much distinction as Shih Shah. Omens seldom fail to attend the birth of every eminent man, and they were not wanting to Ferid's. His mother, when with

* The Akbernama has Simla in the district of Narnul. The Tab Akb., f 169, Narnul, the Tar Beduni, f 145, Narnul, in Hissár-Firuz, the Kholasat al-Towarikh, f 271, and Nisabnama, f 81, Simla, in Narnul.

† Akbernama, f 42, Tabakut-e Akberi, f 169, Tar Niz f 207,

Tar Beduni, f 145, Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 95 et seq., Kholasat al-Towarikh, f 271, Khán Khan, f 50, Nisabnama e Afghani, f 81. The Tabakut, Ferishta, and Nisabnama, do not mention any circumstances of Hasan's life, till he entered the service of Jemál Khan, in Sultan Sekander Lodi's time.

child of him, dreamed that the moon, in its full brightness descending from heaven, entered her womb. Waking her husband, she communicated to him her dream, upon which he struck her several blows. Surprised, she angrily asked him what he meant, and was told, that the sages of former times had advised that one who had a fortunate dream ought not, by dreaming again the same night, to run the risk of counteracting its happy influence, and that his blows were intended to prevent her again falling asleep. In like manner, we are told of Ierid, that when he was about four years old, as he was one day childishly whining to his father to give him a dirhem, a wise and holy derwish who was near, exclaimed aloud, "Great God! the Emperor of Hindustan is crying for a dirhem"* This expression filled his father with delight, as confirming his wife's dream, and inspired him with high hopes of his son's future eminence, hopes which the boy's opening talents seemed early to justify.

Hasan had eight sons, two of them, Ferid and Nizam, by his wife, a noble Afghán lady, the other six by different slaves or concubines, three of them, Suleiman, Ahmed and Midar being by one mother. It is hardly necessary to remark that while, by the Muselman law, the number of wives is limited to four, that of concubines is left unlimited, but that, as all of them live in the master's house like the wives, under the same superintendence, and liable to the same punishment for infidelity, and as consequently no more doubt exists in the one case than in the other as to paternity, the children of both classes are acknowledged by the law, and entitled to a share in the paternal succession, much as, for the same reasons, was customary among the patriarchs and Jews in ancient times. Hasan was not partial to his Afghán wife, and his fondness for

* Khol al-Tow f 271

BOOK IV Suleimán's mother, who had acquired a great ascendency over him, led him to show more favour to her sons than to his other children. Feríd, who, even when little more than a boy, evinced a proud and decided temper, unable to brook this preference, left his father's house, and repaired to Juánpúr, where he placed himself under the protection of Jemál Khan, his father's patron. Hasan wrote to his son to return, and to Jemál to send him back, that he might be instructed in learning, and trained up in the accomplishments suited to his station; but Feríd resisted every solicitation of the friendly Khan, saying that Juánpúr, which was a large city and abounded with learned men, was a much better place for instruction than such a village as Sahsáim. He, however, applied himself ardently to the pursuit of knowledge. He is said to have studied the Arabic and Persian languages, and the religious and civil code of the Musulman law, as contained in the Koran and the commentaries upon it, and such was his delight in the beautiful poets of Persia, that he was able to repeat by heart the whole poems of the celebrated moralist and poet Sádi *. With such acquirements, it is not wonderful that he soon came to be considered as a great scholar among his countrymen, the Afgháns, who, though distinguished in arms, have always been noted for their dulness in letters and the arts. Besides this, he took pleasure in frequenting the monasteries and colleges of the Derwishes and other religious orders, and courted the society of the Ulema, or Muhammedan lawyers and

* The author of the *Tabakát-e Akberí*, (ff 169-85) himself a man of letters and versed in Persian literature, speaks doubtfully of Feríd's scholarship. He mentions his reading the *Káfi*a (or, Arabic Grammar) with the commentaries and other books, "such," says he, "as the *Guhstán*, *Bostán*, and *Sekander-náma*, which were then generally

read by the people of Hind, and made himself acquainted with the principles of morals and with some books of history." This would suppose but a limited course of study, and such it probably was. The *Nisábnama* mentions, as part of his reading, history and the *Akhláqí-Surí*, f 81 *bis*.

doctors as well as of the Sheikhs and men of saintly reputation, studied their manners and habits of thinking, and secured their favour, which he retained through life, and which was often of singular advantage to him in his plans of ambition. His father heard of the young man's reputation, when he visited Juánpúr a few years after. Their relations interfered to make up their quarrel, and to prevail upon the son to return home. As Hasim was himself about to attend the governor of Juánpur with his troops, he offered Ferid the management of both his jágirs during his absence, a burden which the youth consented to undertake, on the express understanding that, though many of the officers in the jágirs were his own near friends and relations, he was to have the absolute direction of all, so as to be able, he said, to govern the raiats with impartiality, by gentleness and justice, and to relieve them from the ignorant oppression which he saw exercised over them by his countrymen.

CHAP. IV
SECT. 1

Appointed
to manage
his father's
jagirs

Ferid accordingly repaired to the jágirs to act as Sheikhdar or military collector, and soon gained the confidence of the inhabitants, by the kindness with which he treated them, and his invariable regard to justice, from which neither the calls of interest nor the claims of relationship could divert him. Soon after his arrival, he also showed the bold decision of his character. The head men of some villages in the jágir, who had been refractory, refused to wait upon him, which was equivalent to withdrawing from his authority. These he determined to punish, and consulted the officers of the jágir as to the best means of effecting his object. He was told that, as all the troops had gone with his father, it was necessary to put off any operations till their return. But this dilatory conduct, and passive acquiescence in injury, were little suited to the energetic character of Ferid. He gave orders to make two hundred saddles, borrowed one horse from the head-

His judicious and bold measures.

BOOK IV

man of every village in his Perganas, and selecting the most active of the men who had seen service and lived scattered about in the *jágir*, supplied them with money and clothes, animated their zeal by his example and promises, mounted them on the borrowed horses, and led them against the rebels. With unexpected speed he destroyed the houses and property of the refractory, and made some of them prisoners, at the same time seizing a number of their wives and children, whom he retained as hostages.

Having quelled all opposition in the interior of his little territory, he next proceeded to punish some turbulent neighbours, who, from the woods and hills on the limits of the *jágir*, trusting to their inaccessible fastnesses made frequent inroads, plundering and harassing the cultivators. As they refused to meet him or to give suitable redress, he marched such a force as he could collect into their country, till he came near their chief town, which they had fortified as a castle or fastness. There he halted; drew a trench round his camp, and, cutting down, day after day, a portion of the jungle by which the enemy's fort was surrounded and defended, he at length reached their stronghold, which he regularly attacked and finally stormed, killing numbers of the defenders, and making the rest prisoners. These early acts of resolute determination inspired his rude neighbours on every side with such alarm, that they never after troubled him, but remained quiet and inoffensive, paying him regularly an annual tribute.

Prosperity
of his dis-
tricts

The freedom from internal and external oppression enjoyed in his villages, soon drew to them an influx of cultivators from all the districts around, so that he was enabled to bring into cultivation nearly the whole of the waste lands within their limits. He relieved the inhabitants from many burdensome exactions, neither molesting them himself, nor suffering others to molest them, insomuch that the produce of the *jágir* was soon

amazingly increased: the villages flourished, the inhabitants pursued their industry in quiet, and he himself was extremely beloved. Hasan, who some time after paid a visit to his father, was delighted with the order, populousness, and general prosperity which he everywhere witnessed.*

CHAP. IV
SECT. I

But says the native historian, as the love of gold and women are the great disturbers of human society and of private families, so the mother of Sulaiman, jealous of the reputation and importance which Ierid was daily acquiring, and anxious that her son should have the management of the reign, exerted the influence which she possessed over Hasan's mind, and had succeeded in extracting from him a promise to transfer to her sons, when they came of age, the management of the Pergamis. Hasan was, however, well aware of the heart-burning in his family, and the injury to his estate, that such a change would occasion; and, having every reason to be satisfied with Ierid's conduct, put off from time to time the performance of his promise. But Ierid, whose observation the intrigues that were carrying on, and the perplexity of his father could not escape, put an end to his difficulties by resigning, in disgust, the charge of the reigns, to which his brothers Sulaiman and Ahmed were immediately appointed.

Jealousy of
his reputation
the king

He is king

Though Hasan used every endeavour to soothe the injured feelings of Ierid, by representing the appointment of his brothers as made merely with a view to initiate them into business, while he was still to be the heir, the young man once more resolved to leave his father's house. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had now become king at Agra, whither Ierid repaired, with his brother Nizam, and entered into the service of Doulat Khan Lodi, one of the great Annas of the court. Ierid, by his talents and assiduity, gained the esteem and

Repaired to
the camp
of Sultan
Ibrahim
Lodi

* Tab Akb. f. 170, Jar Niz. ff. 272, 273, Icrishia, vol. ii. ff. 207, 208, Khul' al-Tawarikh, pp. 99, 100.

BOOK IV

patronage of that chief, who, having on some occasion asked in what way he could serve him, Feríd seized the opportunity of informing him how he was situated, that, though the son of Hasan by a noble Afghán lady, his father, now in his dotage, bewitched by the arts of a favourite Hindu concubine, who had gained unlimited power over his mind, had set him aside from the management of his *jágír*, and had bestowed it on her sons, he represented both the revenue and military force of the districts as falling into decay, and the soldiers as discontented, but added that, if he and his brother were put in possession of the *jágírs*, he would undertake that, while one of the two brothers remained in the *perganas* to manage them and to take care of their aged father, the other should at all times attend the Sultan with a body of five hundred horse

When Doulat Khan took an opportunity of representing these circumstances to Sultan Ibráhím, the king coldly remarked, that he must be a bad man who could depreciate and undermine his own father. Doulat informed Feríd of this repulse, but at the same time kept up his spirits by increasing his allowance, and by assuring him that he would neglect no opportunity of still effecting his object. Feríd, by his liberality and generous qualities, gained the heart of his patron, to whom he still continued attached, and whom he accompanied in his daily attendance at the *derbár*. A short time afterwards, Feríd's father having died, Doulat Khan, once more waiting on the king, renewed his application under more favourable circumstances, and secured for his follower a grant of the *jágírs* of Sahasráram and Kháwáspúr-Tánda, in consequence of which, Feríd returned to Sahasráram with a strong retinue, and took possession of the *jágírs*, which he again governed with his former moderation and justice *

Appointed
to succeed
his father
in the
Jágírs.

* *Taríkh-e-Nizámí*, f 208 fol- 102, and by Tar Bedauni, f 145
lowed by *Ferishta*, vol ii pp 101,

Suleimán, unable to oppose his brother thus supported by the royal authority, repaired to Muhammed Khan Súr, a relation of the family, who then held the government of Junda and Baksár, with fifteen hundred horse. By this time the invasion of Báber had begun, and a decisive battle was daily expected. Suleimán's patron promised that, if the Sultan was successful, he would carry him to court and secure for him his jágís. The impatience of Suleiman, however, who complained that, while he was waiting, his mother and family were without house and home, induced Muhammed Súr to send a confidential person to attempt to bring Ferid to an accommodation. The reply was that Ferid was perfectly willing to share with his brothers whatever belonged to the private inheritance and estate of his father, but would part with none of the military or political power entrusted to him by his prince, observing, in the words of a well-known saying, that one scabbard could not hold two swords, nor one city contain two rulers. To this arrangement Suleimán would not recede, insisting on having a share in the government of the jágís, and Muhammed Khan was preparing to restore him by force, when news arrived of the defeat and death of Sultan Ibráhím.

Overthrow
of the
Afghán
dynasty by
Báber
A D 932
A D 1526

In the disorders and wars that followed the overthrow of the Afghán kingdom of Delhi, Ferid was not inactive*. He remained attached to the interests of his tribe, and joined Behár Khan, the son of Daria Khan Loháni, when, supported by the Afgháns of India, he occupied Behár,

Shír Khan
favoured by
the Afghán

* It does not appear what part Hasan took in the Loháni rebellion, but, from his connection with Nasir Khan Loháni and Baban Khan Jilwani, who were so active in the revolt, we may conjecture that he sided with the insurgents. When Ferid went to Sultan Ibrahim, was it resorting to his father's enemies?

while Suleiman sided with the rebels.

It may perhaps be suspected that the whole of Hasan's service with Nasir, Doulat, and Baban was in the reign of Ibrahim, and during their revolt, not in Sekander's time. The chronology is very confused.

BOOK IV

king of
Behár

and assumed the ensigns of royalty as king of the Eastern provinces of Behár and Juánpúr, under the name of Sultan Muhammed Feríd's bravery, his knowledge of affairs, and his assiduity speedily gave him a high reputation in the council and camp of the Afgháns. He was much employed in business of importance, and became a personal favourite of the king.

His prowess
and elevation

An accidental occurrence raised him to still higher distinction. It happened that, the king being one day on a hunting party, a tiger unexpectedly made its appearance. Feríd, who was present, bravely pushed forward, and was fortunate enough to attack and slay the ferocious animal with his sabre. The King loaded him with praises, and honoured him with the title of Shír-Khan (lion lord). He rapidly rose from one office of trust to another, until he was at last appointed Atálik, or Governor, of Jilál Khan, the Sultan's son and heir, an office which implied the highest degree of rank and confidence.*

Intrigues
of his
enemies.

Thus proud elevation could not be attained without exciting the envy of his compeers. Shír Khan, having some time after obtained leave of absence, went to visit his jágírs, where he seems to have remained beyond the prescribed period. The occasion of injuring him, thus offered, was not lost on his enemies. The King one day took notice of the circumstance, and spoke of it with some appearance of dissatisfaction. Muhammed Khan Súr, the governor of Junda, Suleimán's pation, who was present, seized the occasion to throw suspicions on the fidelity of Shír Khan, insinuating that his delay was owing to his desire to wait the arrival of Sultan Muhammed Lodi, a brother of the late Sultan Ibráhím, who was at this time a candidate for the throne of Behár as well as Delhi. The King, irritated at the moment, and moved by these insinuations, threw out

* Tar Nizami, f 209, Khol f 145, Ferishta, vol ii p 103
al-Tow f 273, Tar Bedauni,

some angry expressions against Shir Khan, upon which Muhammed Khan suggested, that the most effectual way to keep him in order was to bestow his jagir on his half-brother and rival Sulaiman, who had managed it in their father's lifetime, and had been fixed on by him as his successor. Sulaiman was at that time living under Muhammed Khan's protection. Though this was rejected as being too strong a measure against one who had been guilty of no active or overt offence, yet the party hostile to Shir Khan succeeded in procuring from the Sultan an order for dividing the jagir among the brothers.

CHAP. IV
SECT. I

The division of his jagirs ordered

But Shir Khan had become too strong to be removed at will, in such turbulent times. A firman was indeed issued, that an account of Hasm's estate should be taken for the purpose of making an equal division between his sons, and this duty was entrusted to Shir Khan's enemy, Muhammed Khan Sur. To a demand sent by that officer, that Shir Khan should divide with his brothers the jagir which he had so long unjustly withheld from them, a reply was returned, that they were not now in the Roh (or Afghan mountains), where all the sons shared in the father's lands, that here the land was the king's, granted for the support of troops and followed his pleasure, that he held his land by a special grant of Sultan Ibrahim, and that his brothers had no concern whatever with it, but that he had already declared his readiness to grant his brothers their due share of their father's private property, which was all that in law they were entitled to demand.*

He refuses to divide them

On receiving this answer, the governor of Junda, glad of an opportunity to enforce his demand by arms,

is expelled.

* Tar Niz f 209. Nisabnana, f. 83. The Roh is the Afghan Highlands. This argument of Ferid is precisely that of the feudal system. It marks the difference be-

tween allodial and feudal lands. The tenure by military service affords the best explanation of the origin of primogeniture.

BOOK IV. immediately despatched his slave, Shadi, with a large body of troops, to put Suleimán in possession of Kháwáspúr-Tánda, with orders, if Shír Khan made any resistance or opposition, to seize Sahsarám, and all the rest of the jágír also. Shír Khan, who did not anticipate such active measures, was taken by surprise. He wrote, however, to his deputy in Kháwáspúr,—who was Malck Saka, a slave, the father of the celebrated Khowás Khan,—to harass and delay the invading troops on their route by every means in his power, but on no account to engage in a general action * till he himself arrived. Unfortunately Malek Saka, hurried on by his impetuosity, or by a desire of distinguishing himself, rashly met the invaders as they approached Kháwáspúr, was defeated, and slain.

This deranged all Shír Khan's plans, and deprived him of those means of resistance on which he had depended. The enemy, pursuing their advantage, advanced to Sahsarám, and he was forced to abandon the jágír. Some of his friends now advised him to repair to the court of Sultan Muhammed, but, dreading the influence of Mohammed Khan Súr with that monarch, he preferred throwing off his allegiance to the king of Behár, and entered into a correspondence with Sultan Juneid Birlás †, who was then governor of the province of Kaira-Manikpúr on the part of Báber, and who agreed to receive and protect him. He waited upon Juneid with rich offerings, submitted to him his claims and his means of enforcing them, and in the end obtained from him a body of troops to assist in recovering his country. With these he advanced, and Muhammed Khan Súr, unable to resist him, fled to the Rhotas hills. Shír Khan now, not only regained his

Reinstated
by aid from
one of
Báber's go-
vernors.

* The Tar Nizámí rather intimates that Saka had power to engage.

† Sultan Juneid Birlás, an amir

of an illustrious family, is said to have married a sister of Báber's. Khol al-Iow f 273

own *jágrs*, but seized Junda and several other adjoining districts that belonged to Muhammed Khan himself. Having liberally rewarded the auxiliary troops that had accompanied him, he sent them home, with suitable presents for Sultan Juneid.

CHAP IV
SECT I

Increases
his terri-
tory and
force*

His scattered family and clansmen now returned. He recruited his forces, took again into his service many inhabitants of the country who had fled to the hills, and speedily became very formidable. With the foresight and sound judgment which formed so remarkable a part of his character, he now wrote to his late enemy Muhammed Khan, begging him to pardon the steps which necessity alone had compelled him to take, that he might secure his own possessions, from the usurpation of his brothers, assured him that while he was determined to retain his own *jágr*, he had no desire to interfere with the possessions of one whom he honoured as an uncle, and invited him to return from the hills, and resume possession of Junda and his other districts. He, at the same time, sent him the whole amount of the revenue that had been collected from the *peiganas* during his occupation of them, besides a large sum of arrears, which the former managers had returned in their accounts as unrecoverable, but which Shír Khan, from his thorough knowledge of revenue concerns, had been able to realise. This act of generosity ever after attached Muhammed Khan to his interests.*

His gener-
ous policy

As soon as the state of his affairs at Sahsarám permitted, Shír Khan, leaving his brother Nízám in charge of his *jágrs*, again visited Sultan Juneid Birlás at Karra, and accompanied him to Agra, where he was

He visits

* The preceding narrative is from the *Tabakát-e Akberí*, ff 171, 172, *Tar Nízámí*, ff 207—209, which *Ferishta*, vol ii pp 98—108, and *Tar Bed* ff 145, 146, have followed, and is modified by the Ak-

bernáma, f 42, the *Nisabnáma e Afgh* ff 81—84, the *Kholaset-al-Towárikh*, ff 171—173, Kháfí Khan, ff 50—52, and Stewart's *History of Bengal*.

BOOK IV

Báber at
Agra.

A H 934,
A D. 1528

Meditates a
restoration
of the
Afghán
empire.

presented to the Emperor Báber, whom he attended in his expedition against Chandéri

Shír Khan remained for some time in Báber's camp, where he had the best opportunity of observing the manners and policy of that prince, and of his ministers. His keen eye saw defects, even where to others all seemed to be sound. One day, in conversing with some of his Afghán friends, he happened to remark, that, from all the observations he had made, he thought it by no means an impracticable thing to drive these foreigners out of Hindustán. To their inquiries, on what he founded this opinion, he answered, that the Emperor, great as were his talents, applied but little to business, so that everything was left to his ministers, who, being selfish and corrupt, did not attend to the interest of the state, that the Afgháns unfortunately were divided, constantly at enmity with each other, and consequently powerless, but that, could they be brought to lay aside their mutual animosities and support him heartily, he did not doubt that he could himself accomplish the business. His friends laughed at the idea, and jeered him on his wild and impracticable fancies.

About the same time, he was one day invited to an entertainment at the Emperor's, where some solid dish* was placed before him, and only a spoon with which to eat it. Having in vain asked for a knife, he at length drew his hanger, and, cutting up the meat into small pieces, proceeded to complete his meal with the spoon, perfectly indifferent to the smiles and remarks of those who were diverted with his Afghán rusticity. Báber, when the incident was pointed out to him, turning to Mír Khalífa, his prime minister, quietly remarked, "this Afghán is a man of sense and spirit," and, being informed of his conduct towards Muhammed Khan, he did not hesitate to predict his rise to future greatness.

Shir Khan got notice of this conversation of the Emperor and his minister, and understanding that his own observations to his friends had been repeated to him, apprehensive that he was viewed with suspicion, fled from the camp the same night, and returned to his jûgir. To excuse this step he wrote to his patron Sultan Jmeid that he must not regard this precipitate retreat as owing in the slightest degree to disaffection, that having learned that his old enemy Muhammed Khan had urged Sultan Muhammed to send an army to occupy his jûgirs while he was absent in the Chighatâi camp, and knowing how much delay must necessarily occur, before he could in the regular way obtain permission to leave the camp, being hard pressed, he had ventured to depart at once without loss of time, and begged Jmeid to assure his Majesty how faithfully he continued to be attached to his service. Sultan Jmeid saw plainly that these were mere professions, and was much offended. But, while Shir Khan thus attempted to excuse his flight, seeing no prospect of succeeding at the Emperor's court, he sought to be reconciled to Sultan Muhammed. This he easily effected, and soon after, accompanied by his brother Nizâm, repaired to the court at Patna, where he was joyfully welcomed by the king and restored to the office of Atâhik, or protector, to his son Jilâl Khan.*

It was not long after his return to the court of Sultan Muhammed Lohâm that that prince died, and was succeeded by Jilâl Khan, his son, still a minor, who was proclaimed king under the name of Sultan Jilâl-ed-dîn. Affairs were for some time conducted by the young king's mother, Bibí Dudâi, in conjunction with Shir Khan, who became prime minister. His usual ability did not forsake him upon this elevation. He strenuously exerted himself to maintain the prosperity and

CHAP. IV
SECT. 1

Withdraws
suddenly
from the
Court

Is recon-
ciled to the
king of
Behâr

Becomes
prime
minister

* Far Niz f 210, 211, Tab Ferishta, v n pp 106, 107, Khafi Akb f 172, Far Bed f 146, Khan, f 53

BOOK IV

Repels an
invasion

reputation of the kingdom, which was still in its infancy. Makhdúm Alim Khan was the governor of Hájípur, an important province on the north of the Ganges, at that time belonging to Bengal. He had for some time cultivated Shír Khan's friendship, and having quarrelled with his master, Nasret Shah, now entered into a close alliance with the Khan. Enraged at this injury, Nasret sent Kutb Khan, the governor of Monger, with a large force to invade Behár, to punish the regent, and to seize the country, and afterwards to root out his own rebellious subject from Hájípur. Shír Khan, who was able to bring only a very inferior army to meet the invaders, tried every art to effect an accommodation, but in vain. He therefore resolved to hazard the issue of a battle, marched against the enemy, whom he boldly attacked, and, by his superior skill and hardihood, totally defeated, with the loss of their leader, — the whole elephants and camp equipage, as well as the military chest of the army of Bengal, falling into his hands *

A conspir-
acy is
formed
against
him

His success on this occasion, added to the high reputation he had already obtained, only increased the envy and dislike with which he had previously been regarded by the Loháni Afgháns, the young king's relations, who now formed a conspiracy for the purpose of cutting him off, and engaged the king himself in it. They alleged, probably not without foundation, that his ambition extended beyond the mere office of regent, and did not stop short of the crown itself. Though his vigilance, and some quarrels among themselves, enabled him to discover and to defeat the schemes of the conspirators, he failed in the attempts which he made to cut them off. But he waited on the young King, Sultan Jilál-ed-dín, to whom he represented the implacable hostility of the conspirators, and the guilty

* Tar Akb. f 172, Tar Niz f 311, Tar Bed f 146. The Lohánis are also called Nuhánis

BOOK IV

fortified, and in which he was soon besieged. Here the two armies lay for some time opposed to each other, and had daily skirmishes. In these affairs, and from the constrained situation in which he was, in a hostile country, Ibráhím Khan suffered so much, that he was at last obliged to send to his master to solicit reinforcements. Shír Khan, discovering this, and finding his army in high spirits, led them out to offer battle to the enemy. It was joyfully accepted. Ibráhím drew out his army, which was strong in artillery and elephants, and marched to meet them. Shír Khan added stratagem to bravery. The battle began with great ardour on both sides, but while Ibráhím was engaged in front, in keen pursuit of a party of the retreating enemy, he was attacked in the rear by a body of chosen troops, who had been posted in ambush behind an eminence, under the personal command of Shír Khan. Ibráhím was defeated and slain, with the flower of his troops. All his artillery, elephants and baggage, fell into the hands of Shír Khan, and the young King, Sultan Jilál-ed-dín, escaping with difficulty from the field of slaughter, sought refuge in Bengal*. This decisive success freed the dominions of Behár from foreign enemies†.

Is entirely
defeated by
Shír Khan

Rival
claimants
of the
crown.

But these were not the only rivals who contended for the possession of the eastern provinces, so miserably distracted by war and faction. There were three rival princes who aspired to Behár. Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Sherki, the representative of the older Sherki dynasty of Juánpúr, which for a long time had nearly disappeared from the stage, but still possessed Benáres and other districts, and who had placed himself under the

* Tab Akb ff 172, 173, Tar Nizámi, f 211, Tar Bedáuni, f 146, Nisábnáma-e Afg ff 184—186, Ferishta, vol iv pp 98—109, Kháfí Khan, ff 52, 53, Khol al-Towár ff 273, 274.

† The acquisition of Chunár is

placed at this time by most historians. Tab Akb, Akbernáma, Nisábnáma, &c. But Báber's Memoirs prove that Táji Khan was still alive, and in possession of the place, at the close of the ensuing campaign, pp 431, 432.

protection of Báber, to whom he submitted Sultan Jilál-ed-dín Lohání, the son of Behár Khan, who, when driven from his kingdom of Behár, had fled to the territory of Bengal, where he now was, and a third competitor, Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, the brother of the late Sultan Ibráhím Lodi, also appeared in the field *

CHAP IV
SECT I

Sultan
Mahmud
Lodi

After the ruin of his hopes on the side of Delhi, by the defeat of Rána Sánga and the death of Hasan Khan of Mewát, he had remained for some time in the territories of Chaitúr, but being at this time invited by several powerful Lodi chiefs and some zemíndárs of the country, who had assembled at Panah, he now joined them. His pretensions were favoured by various classes, as well as by the numerous friends of the Lodi family. Indeed, he had with him the good wishes of the Afgháns in general, who, whatever party feuds existed among them, would gladly have seen the race of Lodi restored to the throne of Delhi. The recent destruction of the Lohání dynasty of Behár, by the flight of the King to Bengal, had made it clear to the inhabitants of the eastern provinces, even of such as had formerly revolted from the Lodis and opposed them, that, unless the Afgháns of every tribe united under some new chief, their reign was over, and that no individual was so likely to unite the whole Afghán population of India in a steady union as a member of the royal race of Lodi. This feeling produced a temporary union. Sultan Mahmúd was universally acknowledged. He entered

Is univer-
sally ac-
know-
ledged

* There seems to be considerable confusion, in many instances, in the native historians, or their transcribers, between Patna, Panah, Pateh, and Telia, which differ only by the points. Sultan Mahmud is made by Ferishta to come down from Patna, upon Shír Khan. The 'Tar Nizami, f 212, has Firhateh. The 'Tas Be' f 147 has Patna, but immediately after mentions his

going into Behár. The Nisábname-Afgh f 87 has *vilaet-e Pateh*, Mahmud is invited to that country, and thence enters Behar. It seems to have been the district of Panah (or Pateh or Telia) in Bundélkand, where the Afghans assembled before marching into Behár. It is often, probably by the fault of the copyists, confounded with Patna, which is better known.

BOOK IV

A H 935,
A D 1529
End of
February

Behár at the head of a few troops, rapidly made himself master of the town of that name, and of the greater part of the province, and was proclaimed King. He soon found himself at the head of a large army, amounting, according to the reports brought to Báber, of no less than a hundred thousand men. Shír Khan, who saw the tide strongly running in Mahmúd's favour, however willing he might have been to maintain his own pretensions, saw that he did not possess the means of stemming the torrent, waited upon Sultan Mahmúd and acknowledged him. The territories of Behár were parcelled out by the Sultan among the leaders of the insurrection, little probably beyond his own jágir being left to Shír Khan, but, at the same time, the Sultan granted him a written agreement, by which he stipulated that, as soon as he was in possession of Juánpúr, he would resign Behár to Shír Khan, in full dominion.*

Is expelled
by Baber,

Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, having sent Baban and Bayezíd across the Ganges to the province of Sirwar, with a strong army, himself advanced up the river and laid siege to Chunár, while Shír Khan crossed over and occupied Benáres. The advance of Báber, from Agra, soon put an end to the hopes of Mahmúd. On his approach, Benáres was hastily abandoned, and the siege of Chunár raised. Sultan Mahmúd retreated in confusion towards the Són, his army broke up, and he was soon after obliged to pass to the left bank of the Ganges, where he too, like his rival Jilál-ed-dín Loháni, sought refuge with the army of Bengal. Upon this dispersion, Shír Khan sent to Báber his submission, which was accepted, and Jelál-ed-dín Loháni, making his escape from the Bengal army, where he felt himself a prisoner, also submitted. Báber, as we have seen, defeated the army of Bengal, as well as that of Baban and Bayezíd, who were pursued across the Ganges and Jamna, into

the territory of Bandelkand, whence, at a future time, they once more entered Behár Báber assigned a jágír to Jilál-ed-dín Lohání, the late sovereign of Behár, and made provision for several thousands of the Lohání troops, who had followed that prince's fortune

CHAP IV
SECT I

who occupies Behár

At the conclusion of the campaign, the Emperor returned to Agra, leaving Muhammed Zemán Mírza governor of Juanpúi, and entrusting the government of Chunár and other districts of Behár to Sultan Juneid Birlás, the governor of Karra-Mánikpúr, under whom Táj Khan Sarangkhaní had the immediate command in that fortress. Baber did not visit the eastern provinces for the two last years of his life. Shír Khan, being now a dependent on the empire, seems to have been left in full possession of his jágír. The country, after so many wars and revolutions, was in a very distracted state *

This interval, and the confusion that prevailed over all the eastern provinces, afforded Shír Khan a favourable opportunity of extending his influence, his reputation with his tribe, and even his territories †. Nor did he neglect it. Among other important acquisitions, he became master of Chunár, about the end of Báber's reign, or the beginning of that of Humáyun ‡. That celebrated fort lies on the banks of the Ganges, above Benáres, and, from its strength and position, commands the country around, and especially the course of the river. It had been held under the late Sultan Ibráhím Lodí, by Táj Khan §, who afterwards continued to hold it in Báber's name. Taj Khan was much under the influence of his wife, Lád Malek, a high-spirited lady,

Shír Khan extends his jágírs and power,

acquires Chunár

* Baber's Memoirs, pp 405—432

† Ibid p 407

‡ Sewart, Hist. of Bengal, p 120, makes the event take place A H 943, but this date is much

too late. From many authorities it appears that it was in Shír Khan's possession as early as A H 937

§ Táj-Khan was the son of Jilál-Khan Sarangkhaní, one of Sultan Ibráhím Lodí's great Amirs.

BOOK IV

of Túrkomán extraction, of great beauty and accomplishments, who, though childless, entirely possessed his affection. This inevitably excited the jealousy and hatred of his other wives, whose sons resolved to put her to death. One of them, the eldest, assaulted her one night with a sword, but the wounds which he inflicted were not mortal, though the cry spread over the harem that they were murdering Lád Malek. On hearing the alarm, Táý Khan, with a naked sword in his hand, hastened to attack the assassin, who, seeing that he could not escape from his father, turned upon him, and laid him dead upon the spot. As all Táý Khan's sons, except the murderer, were too young to be able to conduct the government, Lád Malek, who had the affection of the garrison, became mistress of the fort, and by her address induced the chiefs and zemindars of the districts subject to Chunár to acquiesce in her assuming the management of the whole jágír. Shír Khan, who was not far off, finding how matters stood, entered into an understanding with Mír Ahmed Túrkomán, Lád Malek's uncle, seized and confined the delinquent, who had fled into his territory, and, after some negotiation, it was arranged that he should marry Lád Malek, which he did, and by that means gained possession of the valuable country of Chunár, with the fort, which is the key of that part of the province, with all the treasures that had been accumulated in it, as a place of safety.*

Sultan
Mahmúd
renews his
pretensions
A II 937,
A D 1531

In spite of his late discomfiture, Sultan Mahmúd Lodi, soon after the death of Báber, had found means to collect another army of Afgháns, and resolved to march against Juánpúr. He summoned Shír Khan, who still in secret professed attachment to his cause,

* Akbernáma, f 35, Tabak Akb f 173, followed by Ferishta, II p 110, Tar Niz f 212, Nisábnama-e Afgh f 86, Kholaset

al-Tow f 274, Kháfi Khan, ff 33, 34. A statement of the treasures found in Chunár is given in the Nisábnáma, f 87.

to join his army. Shur Khim was in reality little disposed to render him any active assistance, and made so many delays that Sultan Mahmud, by the advice of his Amirs, who were not unaware of his character and views, contrived, in marching for Jampur, to take his route through Shur Khim's jagir of Sahanan. This quelled the lukewarm diligence of the crafty Afghan, who, as the Sultan approached, came out to receive him with every mark of honour, gave him a splendid reception, and joined him in prosecuting the campaign. On the approach of the Afghan army, the troops of Humayun under Sultan Inacid Barlas, abandoned Jampur*, and Sultan Mahmud was soon master of the country, as far as Kauri Mankpur and Lukman.

CHAP. IV
SECT. I

He is met by
Shur Khim

Humayun was at that time, as we have seen, occupied with the siege of Kashmir, which, on hearing of the irruption of the army of Behar into his territory, he raised, and marched straight to meet them. On hearing of his approach, Sultan Mahmud concentrated his force. When the two armies were encamped facing each other, and ready to engage, Shur Khim, offended that Babur Khim, Jilwanji, and Bayezid Khim Bermah, two old and distinguished leaders of the Afghans, had been preferred to him in the command of the army, to which he aspired, sent a secret message to Mir Hindu Beg Kochun, a veteran Moghul chief, who was at this time Humayun's Amir-ul-umra, and commander in chief, to assure him that he continued a hearty friend to the house of his patron Baber, which he would prove by his deeds, and proposed that, when the two armies were engaged, he should draw off his own division and retreat, so that the defeat of the pretender would be certain. Accordingly, in the battle that ensued, while the two armies were engaged, he retreated with all his troops. A general panic

Advance of
Humayun

The chief
of Shur
Khim and
division
of the
Afghan
force

* Tab Akh. ii 173—171, Tarikh-i-Niz. f. 212, Terakia, Nisab-nama, f. 87. † The Nisab-nama calls Babur, "valad Ata Lodi, f. 85."

BOOK IV

ensued Sultan Mahmúd was entirely defeated, with the loss of his whole camp and of the symbols of sovereignty. He fled to Patna,* disgusted with the world, and believing that he was persecuted by fate, renounced public life, gave himself up to devotion, and some years after†, died in Orissa.

Shír Khan
retains
Chunar and
his jagírs

Humáyun, after this victory, having replaced his governors, hastened back to Agra. Hindu Beg was sent to receive possession of Chunar, and to garrison the castle with imperial troops. But Shír Khan's purpose had been served, and he delayed from time to time, under various pretexts, to surrender the place, so that, in the end, Hindu Beg returned to court, without having effected his object.

A H 938,
A D 1532

We have already seen that, in the following year, the Emperor, determined to break the power of Shír Khan and of the Afgháns in Behár, laid siege to Chunar, but that, being called away by the rapid progress of Beháder Shah in the west, he found himself obliged to enter into an agreement with Shír Khan, by which he allowed him to retain Chunar and his other territories ‡.

And conso-
lidates his
resources

For nearly five years after this period, the disturbed state of the provinces on the Ganges, and the Emperor's absence from his dominions, while engaged in the conquest of Malwa and Gujrát, left Shír Khan an invaluable opportunity, which he did not neglect, for extending his dominions and his power. It is said that when Beháder Shah, the king of Gujrát, found himself hard pressed by the powerful invasion of the Emperor, anxious to create a diversion that might draw off the whole or a part of his troops, he sent envoys to Shír Khan with large sums of money, to induce him to

* The Tar Niz f 213 calls it *Batch*, Tar Bed f 147 *Tehat*.

† According to Ferishta, he died that same year, the Tar Niz f 213 places his death in A H 949, so does the Tar Bedauni, f 147. The *Kholas al-Fow* f 275 places it in

A H 945. The *Nisabnama* in A H 944.

‡ Iabak Akb ff 17, 174, Akbarnama, f 12, Ferishta, vol II pp 110—113, *Nisabnama Afgh* ff 88, 89, Khafi Khan, f 65.

march to his assistance Shír Khan, it is said, having got the treasure into his hands, pretending that his difficulties at home prevented his marching to a distance, proceeded to accomplish his own plans of aggrandisement, and left Beháder to his fate

CHAP IV
SECT I

Shír Khan's success was much assisted by the revolt of Muhammed Sultan Mirza and his sons, on the side of Laknau and Juánpúr, which threw that portion of the eastern provinces into confusion. He profited by this occurrence to make excursions into the provinces north of the river, and to seize immense booty, not probably paying any very scrupulous attention to the rights or interests of either of the contending parties. While returning from one of these predatory inroads to the north of the Ganges, he found means to come unexpectedly on Ulugh Mirza, Muhammed Sultan's son, who was then lying on the Siru or Gogra, defeated him by a stratagem, and, turning round, plundered Benáres

Plunders to
the north
of the
Ganges
A H 941,
A D 1535

A H 942

Enriched and emboldened by this success, he soon after turned his arms against the Sultan of Bengal. Having marched across Behár with a large force, he reduced Patna* and the neighbouring territory, which

Takes pos-
session of
Southern
Behár

* At this period, when going with some friends through the bazaar of Patna, a religious mendicant, who was sitting in a corner silent and buried in meditation, suddenly burst out, as if inspired, exclaiming, "Behold the king of Delhi walking on foot." Shír Khan accepted the omen, which was the stronger, as the man was regarded as a simpleton, took his handkerchief, tied a knot in the corner of it to hold firm the response, and resolved to follow his fortune up to the throne itself. Nisábn f 89. This anecdote might have been published to influence his followers, but one recorded by Abulfazl in the Akbarnama, and which occurred soon after, serves to illus-

trate not only the habits of thinking of the time, but of the individual. When Shír Khan entered Bengal, being desirous of knowing what was to be the event of his enterprise, he invited to his court a famous astrologer, who was then with the Raja of Orissa, informing him that, as he had strange notions and unusual plans in his head, he wished for his presence that he might have the benefit of his skill. The Raja, who, like some European princes not long before, kept his astrologer shut up as a kind of state prisoner, refused to let him go. The astrologer, however, wrote to Shír Khan, that for a year to come he would not be completely master of Bengal, but

BOOK IV

A D 1537

A D 943
And In-
vades Ben-
gal

had for some time been occupied by that potentate Not content with this, he proceeded downwards to the farthest limits of Southern Behár, and at Surajpúr, above Mongeir, engaged and defeated the Bengal army, and improving this advantage, took possession of the whole country His ambition and his success did not stop short here, he entered the kingdom of Bengal itself That country had not been free from the convulsions that had afflicted the kingdoms around On the death of Nasret Shah, which happened some time before this invasion, he was succeeded by his son Firúz Shah, who, after a short reign of three months, was murdered by his uncle Sultan Mahmúd Shah Against this prince, Shír Khan now carried on a successful warfare, defeated him in several actions, driving him before him, and at last shut him up in his magnificent capital of Gour, to which he laid siege An insurrection of some zemindars of Behár called off Shír Khan for a time, but the siege was conducted in his absence by Jilál Khan, his son, under the guidance of Khowás Khan, the ablest of his generals *

that he would become so on a date which he mentioned, and that, moreover, on that very day the river Ganges would be fordable for one hour, and, says Abulfazl, himself an adept in astrology, as he predicted, so it happened

* Akbarnama, ff 42, 43, Ferishta, vol ii pp 109—113, vol iv p 350 Stewart's Hist of Bengal, p 118 The exact time of the death of Nasret (or Nasib) Shah is uncertain Ferishta, in the Hist of Bengal, vol iv p 352, tells us that he never could ascertain whether Nasib died a natural death, or was murdered, but that he died A D 945, after a reign of eighteen years In this there is some mistake His predecessor, Alá-ed-dín, is stated to have died A D 930 (vol iv p 350),

so that, if Nasib died in A D 945, his reign was only of fifteen years In Ferishta, General History, vol ii pp 108, 109—113, the actions elsewhere ascribed to Nasib in the last part of his reign, are given to Mahmud in the early part of his Stewart, Hist of Bengal, p 117, says that Nasret was murdered A D 940, after a reign of thirteen years, though some historians, he thinks inaccurately, make him die A D 943, after a reign of sixteen years Abulfazl (Akbarnáma, f 43 v) calls the king of Bengal defeated by Shír Khan, Nasib Shah The second siege of Chunar occurred in A D 945 It is possible that Nasib may have died during the siege of Gour, which was in the same year, though not

The report of these rapid successes had alarmed Humáyun, during his residence in Gujrát and Malwa, and now, after his return to Agra, made him march with his grand army to re-establish his authority in Behái. The events that followed, it is now time to detail

CHAP IV
SECT I

A H 944,
A D 1537

probable, as Stewart makes Mahmud die in A H 945, the same year, which would allow only a few months for his reign. I should be inclined to fix upon the early part of A H 943 as the time of his death.

CHAPTER IV

AFFAIRS OF BENGAL

SECTION II

CONQUEST AND LOSS OF BENGAL BY HUMÁYUN

HUMÁYUN AT AGRA — PREPARES TO ATTACK SHÍR KHAN — LAYS SIEGE TO CHUNÁR, WHICH SURRENDERS, AFTER SIX MONTHS — SHÍR KHAN IN BENGAL — HUMÁYUN ADVANCES TO BENÁRES — CAPTURE OF GOUR, AND REDUCTION OF BENGAL AND BEHÁR, BY SHÍR KHAN — HUMÁYUN SUMMONS HIM TO SUBMIT, HE REFUSES — HUMÁYUN TRAVERSES BEHÁR, AND APPROACHES THE TERIA-GARHI PASS — PLANS OF SHÍR KHAN — SURPRISE AND ROUT OF THE IMPERIAL ADVANCED GUARD — RETREAT OF THE ENEMY — SHÍR KHAN GAINS RHOTAS BY TREACHERY — HUMÁYUN ENTERS BENGAL, OCCUPIES GOUR, AND SUBDUES THE WHOLE PROVINCE — INDOLENCE OF THE EMPEROR, AND COURT — SHÍR KHAN RE-OCCUPIES BEHÁR, AND THE PASSES — LAYS SIEGE TO JUÁNPUK AND CHUNÁR — REVOIT OF HINDAL MIRZA, AT AGRA. — HUMÁYUN RETREATS FROM BENGAL, HIS DANGEROUS SITUATION — MÍRZA ASKERI FORCES THE PASSES INTO BEHÁR. — SHÍR KHAN PROCLAIMED KING — THE TWO ARMIES APPROACH — SHÍR SHAH'S TACTICS, OPERATIONS AT CHONSA — DISTRESS OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY — REBELLIONS IN HINDUSTAN — TREASONABLE CONDUCT AND VACILLATIONS OF HINDAL MÍRZA. — HE ATTACKS DELHI. — KÁMBHÁN MÍRZA CALLED IN TO RELIEVE IT — HINDAL RETREATS TO AGRA. — KÁMBHÁN ALSO REVOLTS — PURSUES HINDAL, AND RECEIVES HIS SUBMISSION — MARCHES AGAINST SHÍR SHAH, BUT RETURNS WITHOUT FIGHTING — CONTINUED DISTRESS OF HUMÁYUN AT CHONSA — HE SENDS AN ENVOY TO SHÍR SHAH, NEGOTIATIONS AND ARMISTICE — NEGLIGENCE OF HUMÁYUN — ATTACK BY SHÍR SHAH — SLAUGHTER OF THE IMPERIALISTS — DANGER AND WOUND OF HUMÁYUN — HIS ARMY ANNIHILATED — PROCEEDINGS OF SHÍR SHAH — HUMÁYUN MAKES HIS WAY TO AGRA — SHÍR SHAH SUPREME ON THE LOWER GANGES

BOOK IV **THOUGH Humáyun's return to Agra had been hurried**

on by the reports that had reached him of the alarming progress of Shír Khan in Bengal, and by the recent death of Sultan Juncíd Birlás, which had added still farther to the disturbed state of the eastern provinces, he, however, wasted a twelvemonth, after his arrival in the capital, in pleasure and inactivity, before he seriously resolved on taking the field. The first wish of his heart was to have again marched into Málwa and Gujrat, and to have retrieved his affairs in these provinces. Burhán Nizám Shah, of Ahmednagar, who was assailed by his neighbours in the Dekkan, as well as from Gujrat, sent an embassy, offering to assist Humáyun in a new invasion of that country.* But the danger from Shír Khan's unexpected progress drew off the Emperor in another direction. Sensible, at last, of the danger of any farther delay in seeking out and combating his indefatigable enemy, he made every preparation for an active campaign. He despatched his Amírs to their different jágirs to expedite the march of their contingents, while he committed the government of the principal provinces of the crown to his most eminent nobles. Delhi, he entrusted to Mír Fakr Alí, Agra, to Mír Muhammed Bakhshí, Kalpi, to Yádgár Násir Mirza, his cousin and brother-in-law, and Kanáuj, and the adjoining country, to Núr-ed dín Muhammed Mirza, who also had married a daughter of Báber. Having concentrated the whole moveable force that he could command, the Emperor set out, and proceeded down the Jamna, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, accompanied by his brothers, Askerí and Hindal, and taking with him a part of his harem. On the way, Muhammed Zemán Mirza, whose pardon had been negotiated by his wife, a sister of Humáyun's, met him, with a body of troops, who still accompanied him, after all his elevations and misfortunes, and was honourably

A. H. 944,
A. D. 1537Prepares to
attack Shír
KhanSefer 8
July 17

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii pp 228, 229

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A D 1537 8

received. Chunár was the first object of the campaign. Shír Khan, being still absent in Bengal, the moment was regarded as favourable for an attack. Before the army reached Chunár, Kutb Khan, his second son, whom he had left in charge of it, retired* to the neighbouring hills of Bhaikanda, to observe and harass the besiegers from without, leaving Ghází Khan Súr†, the father of the future king, Ibráhím Shah Súr, to conduct the defence within.

Lays siege
to Chunár

The place was strong, well provided with stores and ammunition, and defended by a brave and numerous garrison. In spite of every effort on the part of the assailants, little progress was made. Rúmi Khan, Beháder Shah's celebrated engineer, who had left him after the disastrous discomfiture of Mandsúr, was now Humáyún's Mír-Atesh, or Grand-Master of Ordnance, and directed the operations of the siege. When it had lasted several months‡, seeing that his battering guns

* According to Jouher, this was on the Sheb-e-Berát, 16 Shabán, which would be the 18 Jan A D 1538. Six months, between Agra and Chunár, is a long time.

† Bedáuni, f 141, says that it was Jilal-Khan, and that he retired in a boat during the siege.

‡ Rumi Khan, when he found that his batteries did not produce the desired effect, and desirous to ascertain on what part of the fortifications an impression could most successfully be made, is said by Jouher to have resorted to an artifice not altogether singular in barbarous warfare. Having caused a faithful and intelligent Abyssinian slave, with whom he had a perfect understanding, to be severely flogged, the slave made his escape by night, and found admittance into the fort. There, with imprecations against the injustice and cruelty of his master, he exhibited his limbs still flagrant

from the scourge, explained with truth in whose service he had been, spoke of the skill, as an engineer, that he had gained under so able a teacher, and professed his readiness, in revenge of the injurious treatment he had received, to point out the spots, from which the camp of the besiegers could be most effectually annoyed. To evince at once his skill and his sincerity, he showed some defects in the fortifications that required to be remedied. The officers who had charge of the defences, the better to avail themselves of his remarks, carried him to the most important parts of the works, on which he silently made his observations, and, having gained his object, in the course of a few days he found means to escape and return to the camp, where he communicated his remarks to his master, who acted upon them in his future operations. Jouher, c 3

did not make the impression which he expected, he made a more scrutinising survey, and, having discovered that the defences were weakest on the side of the river, besides running some works to cut off the communication of the garrison with the country, and a mine or two on the land side, in furtherance of his previous operations, Rûmî Khan constructed a battery near the Ganges, in which he placed a huge piece of cannon, to bear on the walls by the river side. But soon, finding that, from its distance and position, it did not produce the desired effect, he resolved to attack the river face directly, where the works were weakest. For this purpose he constructed a large platform upon boats in the river, on which he raised a battery, surmounted by a high tower that overtopped the fortifications. This floating battery he moved across the river by night, and anchored close to the fort. This movement was supported by a general attack on every side. A furious cannonade ensued, and soon threw down a portion of the wall, by which the besiegers attempted to enter*, but so well did the garrison defend themselves, that seven hundred of the assailants were killed, and the floating battery was half-destroyed by the shot. Next morning, artificers were set to work to repair the battery for a fresh attack, when such of the garrison as had not already escaped, seeing that the Emperor was resolved to take the place at any expense, and that there was no prospect of relief, capitulated on condition that their lives should be spared. After the surrender, Movend Beg Duldî, a favourite of Humáyun's, under pretence of an order from the Emperor, caused the hands of three hundred artillerymen to be struck off, a breach of faith for which, on the indignant complaint of Rûmî Khan, he was sharply rebuked by Humáyun. The command of the place was conferred

Which surrenders after six months.

* Jouher says that no breach was made.

BOOK IV

A.D. 1538

on Rûmî Khan, who held it but a few days, when he died, it was strongly suspected of poison administered by some of the nobles with whom he was unpopular. He was succeeded in the government of Chunâr by Beg Mirak, whom he had pointed out as most fit for the office *

Shîr Khan
in Bengal.

The six months during which Humâyun was detained by the siege of Chunâr afforded a most valuable breathing time for Shîr Khan, who employed it in the reduction of Bengal, and especially in pushing on the siege of Gour, where his troops were directed, sometimes by himself, and sometimes by his son, Jilâl Khan, and his great general, Khowâs Khan, the son of the late Malek Saka. After the fall of Chunâr, the Emperor moved down to Benâres, where he learned that Shîr Khan was actively occupied in the siege of Gour, and had the prospect of being soon master of the whole kingdom. On this, he resolved to prosecute his march into Bengal, that he might check his progress, and had reached the river Sôn, when news arrived that Gour had fallen.

Humâyun
advances to
Benâres

Capture of
Gour, and
reduction
of Bengal
and Behâr
by Shîr
Khan

It appears that after a siege of many months, a scarcity of food began to prevail in the city, upon which the king, Syed Mahmûd Shah, seeing no hopes of successful resistance, and that the place must soon fall, effected his escape in a swift rowing boat, and reached Hâjîpûr. He was afterwards pursued and attacked by a party of Shîr Khan's troops, his followers dispersed,

* Jouher's Mem c 3, Akber-nâma, f 43, Tabakât-e Akberi, ff 149, 150, 175, Tar Niz f 213, Fenshta, vol II. pp 83, 84, 113, Nisâbnâma, f 89, Khâfî Khan, f 45. The Tabakât, f 150, says that the artillerymen were mutilated *bahukm* (q *bhukm*) *Ashraf*, and that their left hand was cut off. Abul-fazl seems to extend this to all the garrison of two thousand. The Tab Akberi, f 175, Tar Niz

f 213 call Rumi's successor, Dost Beg, as does the Nisâbnâma. Ferishta, following the Tabakat, makes the siege last six months (vol II p 114) as does the Nisâbnâma. Jouher allows six months for the construction of the floating battery and tower. There is a good deal of diversity in the various accounts of the siege, which it is needless to attempt to reconcile.

and himself wounded, so that he was soon after compelled entirely to abandon his kingdom, and to seek refuge in the camp of the Emperor *. Shír Khan, after his victory, hastened back to Gour, which fell into his hands, and the greater part of the dependent provinces of Bengal and Behár followed the fate of the capital

CHAP IV
SECT II

This intelligence induced Humáyun to follow a more vigorous plan of operations. He saw the necessity of preventing the Afghán from having time to confirm his power in the wealthy and populous kingdom of Bengal. He therefore despatched an envoy to Shír Khan, commanding him, without delay, to resign to him the throne, the umbrella, and other ensigns of royalty, with the royal treasures which had fallen into his hands, and, at the same time, to surrender all the territory that he had recently seized, offering to assign to him, in jágír, the fort of Chunár, the city of Juánpúr, or any other place that he might choose. Shír Khan received the message with every mark of deference, but declined the offer, saying that the conquest of Bengal had been achieved by years of toil, and the lives of many of his bravest followers, and that he was therefore by no means disposed to part with what had cost him so much. The envoy, who was detained some time in Shír Khan's camp, on his return, besides reporting as to his mission, informed the Emperor that the Khan had already set out on his way from Ghour to Rhotas and the hill country, carrying with him the immense treasure that he had taken, and which he intended to secure in the fastnesses among the hills.

Humáyun
calls upon
him to
submit,

which he
declines.

Meanwhile Humáyun, leaving Mír Hindu Beg Kochín, his Amír-al-omra, as governor of Juánpúr, with directions for the general management of affairs in that

Humáyun
traverses
Behár

* Mahmud, in his distress, made application for assistance to Nuño d Acuña, the Portuguese Governor-General of India, who sent nine

ships, but they did not arrive till the town was taken. Hist Faria de Souza, quoted by Stewart, Hist of Bengal, p 121

BOOK IV

A D 1538

A H 945

quarter, marched forward for Bengal. At Moniah, a small town between Arra and Dinapúr, near the confluence of the Són with the Ganges, he was met by Syed Mahmúd Shah*, the expelled king of Bengal, who was still suffering severely from his wounds. As the rainy season had now commenced, many of the Emperor's officers were of opinion that it would be better to suspend operations till its close, since the movement of troops, especially of cavalry, must be attended with extreme difficulty during that season in the low country of Bengal. But Mahmúd Shah contended, that the earliest moment was the best, that Shír Khan was still unconfirmed in the possession of the country, and, if attacked without delay, could easily be expelled. He added, that there was no danger of suffering from want of supplies, as was apprehended by some, since there were granaries in Bengal adequate to the support of many armies. Humáyun, persuaded by these reasons, in which there was great weight, and dazzled with the prospect of conquering another kingdom to make up for those he had lost, willingly adopted the views of the exiled monarch.

Approaches
the Teria-
garh pass.

The army continued its march, and before it had quitted the territory of Mongeir, information arrived that Jilál Khan, Shír Khan's second son, and Khowás Khan, his ablest general, had occupied the narrow defile near the village of Teria-garh†,—the grand pass that leads from Behár to Bengal,—and fortified a strong position in the heart of it, for the purpose of checking the advance of the imperial army. On reaching Bhágilpur, between the town of Mongeir and the pass, Mírza Hindal was detached across the river‡, with a

* The Akbarnama and Tar Bedí call him Nasib Shah, which must be erroneous.

† Liliagulliv. Rennell

‡ Jouher, c. 1, speaks of Hindal, and Yalgar Nasir Mirza's being sent

back from the Són to look after Agra and Delhi. The Tabak-i-Akbari and Tar Bedí mention Hindal Mirza's return from Mongeir to Agra, to check and chastise Muhammed Sultan Mirza, and have no

body of five or six thousand men, to act on the opposite bank, and, soon after, Jehangir-Kuh Beg and Biram Khan, with a detachment of about the same strength, were sent forward to clear the road by the Teria-garhi and Sikria garhi pass.

CHAP IV
SECT II

The defile which Shih Khan had ordered his son to occupy, is the long and narrow passage lying between the Ganges and the termination of the Rajmahal hills, where, on the east side, the narrow space is, for some distance, washed by that river. The ground on the west rises abruptly into the Rajmahal hills*, here precipitous, and rendered impassable by jungle and thorny shrubs. It is the great natural highway through the hills from Behar into Bengal. Shih Khan, seeing no probability of defending Bengal against the formidable army commanded by the Emperor, by resistance in the open field, had given his son a body of about fifteen thousand men, with instructions to defend the upper, or Teria garhi, pass as long as he safely could, but charging him on no account to involve himself in offensive operations, and, as soon as the main body of the enemy's army approached, and it was known that he, Shih Khan, had reached Shirpur, to abandon his ground, and hasten by forced marches to join him.

Shih Khan's plan of operations was to allow Humayun's army to take possession of Bengal, to move by the road of the hill country of Jharkend†, towards Rhotas, and secure his treasure and spoil in the difficult recesses of the hills, or in that fort, if he could have access to it, and then to operate on the Emperor's rear.

Plans of
Shih Khan

Ulugh and Shah Mirza, who had fled at Humayun's approach, and were still exciting commotions. Ierishita, v. ii p. 85, agrees that Humayun was sent to suppress the revolt of Muhammed Sultan Mirza, at Kanauj. Ahulfazi, Akbernama,

f. 43 v., merely makes him sent across the Ganges with five or six thousand men, to co-operate with the grand army.

* See Rennell's Atlas of Bengal, Plate, No. 15.

† Jharkend and Bharkend.

BOOK IV

A D 1638

Surprise
and route
of the Im-
perial ad-
vanced
guard

and communications as he advanced into Bengal, seizing upon Behár behind him, and cutting off all intercourse with his dominions, both in the north and west

When the imperial detachment, under Jehángir-Kulí, approached the defile, they found it strongly fortified. This forced them to halt, in order to examine if the enemy could be dislodged by an attack, or if any other practicable pass could be found, by which their position could be turned, and they taken in the rear. Jílál Khan, seeing the imperial troops encamped so near, and learning that they lay carelessly on their ground, less occupied with securing their own camp than with devising means for assailing their opponents, seized the favourable opportunity for cutting them off, fell upon them by surprise with great fury, wounded Jehángir-Kulí himself, and put numbers to the sword. The detachment was saved chiefly by the valour and conduct of Biram Khan, who had a command in it. Collecting some of his troops, he attempted by his gallant resistance to give the imperialists time to rally. But, though he made several desperate charges, and even broke through the enemy, yet, as Jehángir's force had been pushed greatly too much in advance, and was consequently left unsupported*, they were overborne by superior numbers, and, unable to recover their ground, were compelled to fall back on the grand army at Kohlgám, between Bhágilpúr† and the pass. Many officers of rank fell in this affair. A violent storm which sank the Emperor's barge at the moorings, attended by a heavy fall of rain,

* Jouher, c 3, makes no mention of any sally, but represents them as being overpowered, while on their march in the narrow defile, by Jílál Khan's men, who were placed in ambush in the overhanging heights

† The Colgong and Bogilpoor of Rennell. Jouher calls it Kahl-

gram. One account makes the Emperor here allow his brother Hindal to proceed to the provinces of Lírhat and Purnía, which were given him in jágír, with directions to settle them, and return with stores and necessities for the expedition

140 ch flooded the surrounding country, prevented the
 prior from moving on for several days after. When
 able, however, to send forward reconnoitring
 to examine the passes, it was found that the
 who had received notice that Shír Khan with
 blunder and artillery had reached Rhotas,
 attained their object, had already abandoned
 works and retreated *

CHAP IV
 SECT II

Retreat of
 the enemy

It was at this moment of danger that Shír Khan
 succeeded in gaining possession of the hill-fort of
 Rhotas. Having lost Chunár, to which he had for-
 merly trusted as a secure retreat for his family and
 his treasures, he had now no commanding fortress in
 which he could deposit them in the moment of need.
 His own country was overrun, and he found it neces-
 sary to withdraw his troops from the open country of
 Bengal. In such circumstances, the possession of
 Rhotas would be of unspeakable advantage to him.
 It lies high up, in a strong country, on the upper
 course of the Són, was reckoned impregnable, and
 had never submitted to the Kings of Delhi. It would
 not only be a place of security for his family and
 treasure, but a most important military post in the
 warfare he anticipated. With caution and secrecy he
 proposed to the Raja, Hari Kishen Birkís†, to be
 allowed, in this pressing exigency, to send his ha-
 rem and family, with his treasure and a few attendants,
 into the fort, as a place in which they might be safe
 from all the accidents of war. This was at first re-
 fused. But Shír Khan employed an able agent, who
 gained the Raja's favourite wife and his minister by
 rich presents, and who represented to the Raja, that,

Shír Khan
 gains
 Rhotas by
 treachery

* Akbarnama, f 43, Tabakát-e Akbari, f 150, Tar Bedauni, f 141

† Abulfazl calls the Raja, Chintaman Akbari, f 43, the Khol-

set-ul-Towarikh, f 275, describes him as Raja Chintaman, a Brahman. The Nisábname, apparently on good authority, makes Chintaman a Brahman and the Raja's minister.

BOOK IV

A D 1538.

in the doubtful enterprises in which Shír Khan was engaged, it would be an unspeakable relief to his mind to know, that, even should he be deprived of life, his harem and his honour would be safe, and that his wealth, such as it was, the treasures and the plunder of Bengal, instead of falling into the hands of his inveterate enemies, would enrich a friend who had ever been faithful to him. And the Raja, thus strongly urged, whatever were his motives, whether friendship or avarice, was finally persuaded to comply with Shír Khan's request

The plan said to have been adopted by him was not altogether novel, and was founded on the severe and jealous delicacy with which, in the East, women of rank are treated. A thousand dolis^{*}, or covered litters, were provided, in each of which was placed a chosen Afghán warrior, in armour, and sent up to the fort. In some of the first, ladies were seated, to cover the deceit, in others were arms. When the persons in charge of the gates stopped the dolies at the head of the procession, and began examining them, Shír Khan despatched a messenger to the Raja, to remonstrate with him on the unspeakable disgrace he would incur, were his females exposed to view, and the Raja sent orders to let them pass without examination. As soon as all the dolies were within the fort, the armed men issued from them, the bearers and attendants supplied themselves with arms from the dolies, one party advanced to seize the palace, another took possession of the gates, and admitted Shír Khan and his troops. Hari Kishen effected his escape by a private passage. "Thus," says Ferishta, "fell one of the strongest fortresses in the world into the hands of Shír Khan, together with much treasure, that had been accumulated for ages. Although the author, Muhammed Kásim Ferishta, has

* The authorities differ as to the number of the dolies, as well as in many other particulars, making them 300, 1000, and 1200

seen many hill-forts in India, he has seen none to compare with that of Rhotas. It is situated on a table-land, on the top of a mountain more than five kos (seven miles) square. It has only one entrance, by a very narrow road, along a steep ascent of two miles from the foot of the hill to the gates, and water is found everywhere in abundance, by digging a few feet below the surface”*

CHAP IV
SECT II

As soon as Humáyun found that the passes were clear, he left Kohlgám, and continued his march into Bengal. At the same time he allowed his brother Hindal, at his own request, to proceed to the provinces of Tírhut and Purnía, which he had given him in jágír, enjoining him to bring from thence to Bengal such stores and necessaries as might assist the invasion. In the course of a few days, Humáyun took possession of Gour, the capital of Bengal, which, as well as the neighbouring country, he found wasted and ruined by the ravages of war, and the inhabitants in extreme misery and wretchedness. In Gour†, dead bodies were still lying everywhere in the streets and bazars, which were covered with rubbish. These marks of war and desolation were soon removed. Humáyun met with little opposition in completing the conquest of the whole province, which submitted to him in the course of the year, and, with the restoration of order, it was speedily restored to comparative prosperity.

Humáyun
enters Ben-
gal, and oc-
cupies
Gour,

and sub-
dues the
whole pro-
vince

* Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. II pp 114, 115. See *Tabak Akb* f 175, *Tar Niz* ff 213, 214, *Abulfazl Akber*, f 43, *Tar Bedáun*, f 141, *Nisábn Afgh* f 89, *Kho láset-ul-Tow* p 275, *Jouher's Mem* c. 3, *Kháfi Khan*, ff 55, 56. There is some discrepancy as to the date of the taking of Rhotas. Jouher, who accompanied Humáyun on his expedition to Bengal, mentions his hearing of Shír Shah's being in Rhotas before he left Agra, and even

makes the Emperor march against it, while Shír Shah was employed in Bengal. But his *Memoirs* were written from memory, at the distance of many years after the events, and, in this, as in several other instances, are probably erroneous.

† The old name of Gour was Laknouthi, Humáyun, who was very partial to it, called it Jinnatábád (Paradise). After residing in it three months, he was forced to leave it, the troops finding it unhealthy.

BOOK IV

A.D. 1538
Indolence
of the Em-
peror and
Court

Humáyun, thus far successful, was fully alive to all the enjoyments of his new situation. He soon portioned out the whole country into *jágírs*, which he divided among his principal officers. He was delighted with the fertility, and with all the novelties and luxuries of that rich province. Giving way to the habitual improvidence of his temper, he shut himself up in his private apartments, and resigned himself wholly to frivolous indulgences, and to idle pleasures. He was faithfully imitated by his court and his officers, who, in like manner, devoted themselves to jollity and sensual pursuits. Nothing was done to conciliate the inhabitants, to improve their condition, to strengthen the government, or to secure the possession of the new conquest.

Some time elapsed in this manner, while Humáyun and his court enjoyed themselves*, without thoughts of the past, and with little care about the future. By degrees, the intelligence from the north became less frequent. Hindal Mírza did not forward the expected convoys. On the contrary, news full of suspicion were brought, first, that without leave, and in spite of the rains which then prevailed, he had marched straight for Agra, and next, that he was comporting himself in a manner not consistent with his fidelity to his brother. Humáyun immediately despatched Sheikh Bhúl, to bring back the Mírza to his duty. Meanwhile, no reinforcements or supplies arrived from any quarter. The little news that did arrive became daily less, and gradually all routes of communication were completely blocked up. This state of things might have roused the most unthinking. But the inconveniences experienced were only negative, there was no positive and active annoyance pressing close at hand, and the victors thought-

Unsatisfac-
tory state
of his af-
fairs

* The length of Humáyun's residence in Bengal is not well defined. The Tar Nizámi, f 214, Tar Alb f 175, Nisábnáma e Afgh f 90, make him spend three months in

Gour, in pleasure, as does the Tar Bedáuni, f 141. The Tab Alb allows six months for his residence in Bengal, in all, the original of Jouher, nine months.

lessly pursued their career of enjoyment. Such rumours of what was going on at a distance as reached Gour, being seldom of a favourable description, were carefully concealed from the Emperor by those about his person, as of too disagreeable a nature for royal ears, so that he was on the brink of a precipice, before he suspected that there was any danger.

At length news the most alarming, and which could no longer be concealed from the Emperor, arrived in rapid succession. It was discovered, that not only was Shír Khan in possession of the passes, but that the country through which they had recently marched was rapidly falling into his power. As long as Humáyun pursued his route through Behár, the Khan had shunned meeting him. He, for a moment, stopped his progress on the confines of Bengal, to gain time to remove his booty, from Gour and the conquered country, to the mountains of Jharkend, and to Rhotas, where he deposited it in safety. While the Emperor, having fairly passed the defiles, entered Bengal to the south of the hills on the one side, the Afghan descended from his mountain recesses into Behár on the other, and spread his forces once more to the north of the hills, where his own strength lay. He was speedily master of the whole province, and had occupied every road by which troops or couriers could pass down to Bengal, so that the Emperor was totally excluded from all co-operation, or even communication, with the rest of his dominions. Availing himself of the absence of the imperial army, he passed the Ganges, took the city of Benáres after a short siege, and slew the governor Mír Fazl, and seven hundred Chaghatáis. Thence he proceeded to Juánpúr, which he prepared to besiege. It was defended by Bába Beg Jíláir, who had succeeded to that command by the recent death of Hindu Beg. The governor had just been joined by Yúsef Beg from Oud, who had got so far with a body of five thousand men, that he was

CHAP. IV
SECT. II.

Shír Khan
re-occupies
Behár and
the passes.

Lays siege
to Juán-
púr,

BOOK IV

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attempting to carry to Bengal, to reinforce the Emperor Yúsef Beg* joined the governor to assist in defending the place, and indulged his fondness for action in constant sallies and skirmishes Jilál Khan, Shír Khan's eldest son, taking with him a few thousand men, succeeded in coming up with him while on one of these excursions near Juánpúr Yúsef's officers advised an instant retreat, his numbers being far inferior to the Khan's But, hurried on by the ardour of his courage, he engaged, was defeated and slain, and his troops dispersed Next day, Jilál laid siege to Juánpúr Shír Khan's joy at this victory, the first considerable one gained by his troops in the open field against the Emperor's, was very great He regarded it as a happy omen and pledge of future success, observing in homely phrase, that a cock, when once soundly beaten, is not easily brought again to the scratch Bába Beg made a brave and skilful defence of Juánpúr, and despatched expresses to the Emperor and the neighbouring governors of provinces, to ask assistance Meanwhile, Shír Khan blockaded Chunár also He seized the families of the principal zemíndáris of Behár and Juánpúr, as hostages, and sent them in custody to Rhotas His army was now very strong, and his operations, planned and conducted with consummate sagacity, had in all quarters been crowned with success No less alarming were the reports received, at the same time, from Agra, where Hindal Mírza had put to death Sheikh Bhúl, soon after his arrival, had thrown off his allegiance, had assumed all the ensigns of sovereignty, and caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor †

and Chunár

Revolt of
Hindal
Mírza at
Agra

* The Nisabnáma (f 91) asserts that Biram Khan, who had not then attained the rank he afterwards did, held a command in Yusef Beg's army

† Akbarnama, ff 13, 14, Ta-

bakat Akb f 175, Tar Niz f 214, Ferishta, v ii pp 83, 84, Jouher, c 4, Kháfí Khan, ff 15—17, Nisabnama-e Afgh ff 89—91, Tarikhe Reshidi, ff 365, 366, Tar Bedauni, ff 141, 142

For some time, Humáyun affected to treat the news as unfounded and impossible, but he soon found that it was no time to linger where he was. He summoned a council, to make arrangements, both for his return, and for leaving an adequate force to preserve his conquest. Some difficulty arising, as to a proper person to be entrusted with the future command of the province, Humáyun proposed to appoint Záhid Beg to be governor of Bengal, and to leave him behind, with a competent number of officers and troops, for the protection of the province. That nobleman had married the sister of Baké Begum, one of the Emperor's favourite ladies, who had often importuned his Majesty to confer some appointment on him. The Beg, being present when the nomination was made, asked the Emperor, with some petulance, if his Majesty could find no place but Bengal, in which to make away with him. Humáyun, enraged at this unseasonable and insolent speech, vowed that he should put him to death. Záhid Beg, however, escaped from the Council, and sent a message to the Begum, entreating her to intercede for his pardon. This she did, but in vain. He was, therefore, obliged to fly privately from the camp, and, along with Ilají Muhammed Koka and Zindár Beg, two officers of distinction, succeeded in reaching the upper provinces. The government of Bengal was committed to Jehángír-Kuli Beg, a gallant veteran, who was left behind with a body of five thousand horse.

Humáyun, when about to retrace his steps, sent forward Khan Khánán Lodi with the advanced guard of the army, ordering him to occupy Mongeir in Behár, and to hold it till his arrival. He himself followed, but from the heavy rains, which rendered the roads deep and nearly impassable with mud*,

CHAP. IV.
SECT. II.

Humáyun
retreats
from Ben-
gal.

* This of the rains and mud see Tar Niz p 214
deserves attention For the month,

BOOK IV

A D 1538

His dangerous situation

much of the baggage of the army was soon lost, many horses perished, and the troops began to endure great hardship. To add to their distress, before the Emperor had quitted Bengal, he learned that a strong body of Shír Khan's troops, under Khowás Khan, had destroyed the gates of Mongeir by fire, entered the town, and carried off Khan Khánán *

The danger was now more urgent than ever. The difficult straits that separate Bengal from Behár were still to be passed, the troops were worn out and dispirited, and numbers of them suffering from sickness. Humáyun, sending for Askari Mírza, whose division was reckoned the most efficient in the army, offered to reward him to any extent, or, as he expressed himself, to grant any four demands he should make, provided he could extricate him from his present situation. Askari called a meeting of his principal officers, and explained what had passed. They asked him, what boon he thought of requiring. His answer is a melancholy symptom of the degradation of the court and times of Humáyun. "It is my intention," said he, "to ask a round sum of money, a supply of the most costly manufactures of Bengal, some handsome slaves, and a few eunuchs." His officers, filled with surprise and indignation at his short-sighted selfishness told him without hesitation, that the crisis was one of great difficulty and danger, from which nothing but their strenuous exertions could relieve him or the Emperor; that they would expect, therefore, to share in some reward proportioned to the extent of the benefit conferred, and proposed, that all of them should be raised to a higher military rank, should receive an increase of pay for their followers, and a large dona-

* Akbarnáma, ff 43, 44, Tabakát-e Akberi, f 175, Jar Niz f 214, Joulier, c 1. This Khan-Khánán was Dilawer-Khan, son of

Doulat Khan. He had been made Khan-Khánán by Baber. He died in prison in Shír Shah's reign.

tion in ready money for themselves. On these conditions they hoped to be able to extricate the army from its present distress. The Emperor complied with their demands, paid down the money, and added rich presents to gratify his mercenary warriors. Having received a reinforcement of the best troops in the camp, the Mirza advanced, made his way through the passes, and reached Kohlgám, where he halted. From that place he sent back to inform the Emperor of his success, and to communicate intelligence, the truth of which he had been able to ascertain. His report was, that Shír Khan was busy besieging both Chunár and Jánpúr, was in possession of Behár and the country as far as Kanáuj, had been encouraged by his success to declare his independence, by assuming the title of Shah, or King *, and was now collecting a large force at Rhotas.

CHAP. IV
SECT. II

Mirza
Askari
forces the
passes into
Behar

Shír Khan
proclaimed
King

This intelligence seems to have induced the Emperor to march up the left bank of the Ganges, till he came opposite to Mongair, where he found Askari and the advance. Here Muhammed Zaman Mirza communicated undoubted information which he had procured, that Shír Khan was not far off, and was secretly, but carefully, watching every motion of the army. Instead of proceeding onwards by the same bank to Jánpúr, by which route he would have been less liable to meet with interruption, and could have collected reinforcements from various quarters, the Emperor,—from some false point of honour, as is alleged, lest Shír Shah should boast that he had given up the ordinary high road, which lay to the south of the river, and taken that on the north, to avoid facing him,—was induced to recross to the right bank. This movement he is said to have made by the advice of his favourite, Mowáid Beg, in opposition to the remonstrances of his ablest officers,

The two
armies ap-
proach

* He probably at this time assumed the style of King of Behar

BOOK IV

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who represented the miserably unprepared state of the army for active service, worn out, as they were, by a long and difficult march through heavy roads, and nearly destitute of baggage and warlike stores. Having crossed over to the right bank, Humáyun resumed his march upwards, past Patna, till he reached Moniah, at the confluence of the Són with the Ganges *

At Moniah, the enemy, who, though hovering at no great distance, had hitherto hardly shown themselves, were discovered to be at hand in great force. Orders were issued to the troops to arm and prepare for action, and, next day, a body of the Afgháns appeared in sight

The day following, just as the army was about to march, news arrived that the Afgháns had seized the boat which carried a huge piece of ordnance † that had been used at the siege of Chunar. The army, however, crossed the Són; and, on the fourth day, with some skirmishing, reached Chonsa‡, near which the Karamnassa flows into the Ganges

Shír Shah's
tactics

On hearing of the Emperor's march from Gour, Shír Khan had raised the siege of Juánpúr, and concentrated his force. His plan of campaign was laid with great coolness and skill. If the enemy pushed forward, for the purpose of bringing on a pitched battle, he resolved not to face them in the open field, nor to hazard the fate of the war on a single great action, in which the imperialists, from the quality of their force, were likely to have the advantage. On the contrary, in that case, he proposed to give them the slip, and to re-enter Bengal, as he had formerly left it, by the Jharkend

* Abulfazl makes Muhammed Zeman Mirza join the army before the siege of Chunar (Akbernáma, f 43). Jouher makes him and Muhammed Sultan Mirza join during the siege, c. 3, the Tabakát makes him arrive at this time with

a considerable party, f 150, and Ferishta, v 11 p 85 follows that authority

† Dig Koh-shikan, the hull-breaker

‡ Chonsar Rennell

hills. If, on the other hand, the Emperor, instead of marching to attack him, pushed on straight for Agra, then he was to hang on his flanks and rear, cut off his supplies, and harass him on the line of march, and even, if occasion offered, to attempt a surprise. The accounts which soon reached him, of the broken and disabled state of the imperial army, induced him, however, to deviate from this plan, and, adopting a bolder system of operations, to march down and meet his enemy face to face.*

CHAP. IV.
SECT. II.

Accordingly, when the Emperor's army reached Chonsa, about nine in the morning, before they had dismounted an immense cloud of dust was seen in the east. The Emperor gave orders to ascertain whence it proceeded, and soon learned that it was Shír Khan, whose army had arrived by a forced march. A consultation was held. Kásim Husein Sultan proposed an instant attack, observing that Shír Khan must have come that day eighteen or nineteen kos, and that his horses must be worn out and fatigued, while theirs were comparatively fresh. The Emperor was inclined to fall into his opinion, but was induced by Mowáid Khan to defer the attack till next day. A bridge was thrown across the Karamnassa, and the army passed and encamped without fighting, which disheartened both Amirs and soldiers. Shír Khan, who had placed himself in the direct line of his march, fortified his camp on every side with strong entrenchments.

Operations
at Chonsa.
End of
A. D. 945
April 1539

Humáyun's further advance was now checked. The army, brought into this trying situation, was already much weakened by sickness and disease, as well as by the casualties of a long march through bad roads. The greater proportion of the draught cattle had perished on the march, the rest were worn out and emaciated, numbers of the cavalry, having lost their horses, were

Distress of
the imperial
army

BOOK IV
A. D. 1539

dismounted, and forced to accompany the army on foot. Even the cavalry horses left were in a wretched condition. The troops were dispirited. These evils were not likely to be remedied by their present position, cooped up in their camp under the eye of a vigilant enemy. The Emperor had lost the power of moving. Daily skirmishes ensued, bravely contested, and generally terminating in favour of Humáyun's troops, but in which many lives were lost on both sides. Any onward movement must be through the enemy's lines, yet, such was now the reduced and disheartened condition of the imperial army, that it would have been imprudent to hazard such an attack, and without an action of some kind, it was impossible even to change their ground. In this situation the two armies remained, facing each other for about two months*. During this

* The *Tabakát-e Alberí*, the *Tar Bed*, and *Ferishta*, say three months. The chronology of Humáyun's expedition to Bengal is not very distinctly marked by historians, but some of the leading points may be ascertained. He left Agra, A. D. 944, *Sefer* 8 (A. D. 1537, July 17). According to Jouher, the army reached Chunar on the *Sheb-e-Berát*, *Shaban* 16¹ (A. D. 1538, Jan. 18). Six months between Agra and Chunar is a long time, and, as it is agreed that the siege lasted six months, we may suppose that the blockade had begun before the arrival of Humáyun. The rains had begun before the Emperor reached Moniah. At Patna, he was advised to halt, because the rains had come on. Shír Khan is said to have taken Gour on the 12th of Fer-

vardín (*Zikadeh*, A. D. 944, A. D. 1538, April), Humáyun remained three months at Gour, and, according to different accounts, from six to nine months in Bengal altogether, the *Tabakát*, f. 150, and *Bedáuni*, f. 141, allow six, Jouher, who was on the expedition, nine². All Bengal, we are told, was conquered in the course of A. D. 945, which ends May 29 A. D. 1539. The month, in which Humáyun commenced his return from Bengal, is not specified, but he remained two months at Chonsa, probably, April and May, 1539, before the rains set in, and his final discomfiture occurred A. D. 946, *Sefer* 5 (A. D. 1539, June 28) when he had been nearly three months at Chonsa. On these data, I have attempted to arrange the chronology of the events

¹ Major Stewart, in his translation of Jouher, p. 9, makes this occur A. D. 945, but there is no date of any year in the original, and it is clear that it is A. D. 944

The *Sheb-e-Berát* of A. D. 945 would bring it down to A. D. 1539, Jan. 7

² Stewart's Jouher, p. 13, has several months, but the original has none

CHAP. IV
SECRET II

time some of those who had lost their horses or their health in the Bengal expedition, and found then way to Jaunpur and Chunar, contrived to rejoin the Emperor whose situation, cramped up as he was, grew daily worse. Messenger after messenger was despatched to Hindul and afterwards to Humran, whose arrival at Agra became known beseeching them to turn their arms against Shir Khan and to march to the relief of the Emperor and his army, but not a symptom of succour appeared.

Indeed it was not on the side of Bengal and Behar alone that the affairs of Humayun were in a dangerous state. Revolt and rebellion were raging in his capital, and in his own family. Situated as he now was, Humayun in ordinary circumstances, might have looked for assistance from his brothers and the provinces around his capital. But no consolatory ray of hope gleamed upon him from that quarter. Instead of ready succour, all there was procrustianism, intrigue, and treason. When Humayun entered Bengal and proceeded to Gour, Hindul Mirza instead of remaining to keep the rebels in check and maintain the communications with the grand army, taking advantage of the season, abandoned his post, and set out for Agra, without leave. His absence, and the death of Hindu Beg, had encouraged and enabled Shir Khan to pass the Ganges, and, as we have seen, to take Benares, defeat Yusuf Beg, and lay siege to Jaunpur, besides cutting off all the communications of Humayun's army. Hindul, who was now in his twentieth year, misled by the evil counsellors who so often surround an aspiring prince, and incite him to sacrifice every duty at the shrine of ambition, on his arrival at Agra, entered the city, took possession of the Emperor's palace, issued his orders as if vested with absolute power, and seemed to direct his views to the throne itself.*

Rebellions
in Hindustan
A. D. 945
A. D. 1534.

Treason-
able con-
duct and
vacillation
of Hindul
Mirza.

* Albernaz, f. 13, Tabal. Akb. f. 150, Jouher, c. iv, Ferishta.

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The great officers, whom Humáyun had left in situations of trust, could not witness such proceedings with unconcern. The man who, at this moment of danger and turmoil, seems to have exerted himself above all others, was Mír Fakhr Ali*, an old and distinguished officer of Báber's, whom Humáyun had left as military governor of Delhi, under Yádgár Násir Mírza. Alarmed at the course which Hindal was pursuing, he hastened down to Agra to meet the young prince, and represented to him, in the strongest terms, the danger to which he was exposing the power and the very existence of the Chaghatái race in India, he pointed out, that it was a moment when, instead of destroying everything by discord and disunion, it was most necessary that every friend of the family of Tamur should exert himself, to break the rapidly increasing power of Shír Khan and the Afgháns. By such remonstrances, he prevailed upon Hindal to leave the city, to cross over the Jamna into the Doáb, and there collect whatever forces could be brought together, to march and raise the siege of Juánpúr. Muhammed Bakhshí, Humáyun's military governor of Agra, readily furnished every assistance in his power from the arsenal and magazines, to equip the troops, and enable them to take the field. Mír Fakhr Ali, thus far successful, next hastened to Kalpi, to induce Yádgár Násir Mírza, the Emperor's cousin and brother-in-law, who commanded there, and whose jágír Kalpi was, to put his troops in motion, so as to form a junction with those of Hindal in the territory of Karra, that they might thence proceed in concert to Juánpúr.

It happened, unfortunately, that at this time Záhid Beg, Khosrou Beg Kokiltash, Háji Muhammed Bába Kushke, and other discontented and turbulent nobles, who had fled from Bengal, arrived, and had secret

* Or, Mír Fakr Ali

communications with Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, the governor of Kanáuj, who had married Gulsheng Begum, Humáyun's sister, and who seems to have been privy to Hindal's designs. Núr-ed-dín wrote to Hindal Mírza, announcing the arrival of these noblemen, and at the same time forwarded to him a petition from them, asking his favour and protection, and proffering their own duty and services. To this address the Mírza, who, in spite of his change of conduct, had still a strong leaning to his treasonable purposes, returned a gracious answer, which he gave to Muhammed Gházi Taghái, one of his trusty adherents, by whom he at the same time wrote to inform Yádgái Násir Mírza, and Mí Fakhír Alí, of the arrival of the Amírs. The Amírs did not wait at Kanáuj for his answer, but proceeded to Kol, a jágír of Záhíd Beg's. Hindal's envoy, hearing of this movement, instead of going first to Yádgái, went straight to meet them. The conspirators, finding that Hindal was irresolute or insincere, and being themselves desperate, told the envoy, explicitly, that their mind was made up, that they had for ever shaken off their allegiance to the Emperor, that, if Hindal would assume the imperial dignity, and read the Khutba in his own name, they were ready to be his most faithful subjects, but if not, that they would straightway repair to Kámran Mírza, and make him the same offer, which would not be refused. The envoy, returning to Hindal, reported what had passed, and added his own opinion, that the Mírza was so far committed as to have only one of two measures to adopt; he must either at once call in the Amírs, accede to their advice, and declare himself Emperor, or get them into his power, cast them into prison, and treat them as rebels. Hindal, whose mind was misled by high and dazzling projects, was not long of coming to a decision on this

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A D 1538

alternative * He agreed to accept the proposal of the fugitive nobles, and to raise the standard of rebellion

It was at this very juncture that Sheikh Bhúl or Bchlúl, who had been sent by Humáyun from Gour, on a mission to the Mírza, arrived near Agra He was the elder brother of Sheikh Muhammed Ghous, who had gained Guálíár for Báber, and who was one of the most eminent saintly men then in India The possession of the mysterious names of God, by the secret use of which it was devoutly believed that the most wonderful and miraculous effects could be produced, added awe to his character He was revered by Humáyun as his religious teacher and spiritual guide, and had acted as a councillor to Hindal himself, in his campaign against Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, beyond the Ganges Hindal, on hearing of his approach, went out and received him with every mark of honour He had been sent from Bengal, as we have seen, by the Emperor, when he first heard of the Mírza's defection, to reason with him on the folly of his proceedings, that could only serve to elevate the Afgháns on the ruins of the imperial family and race He brought with him assurances from Humáyun, not only of forgiveness for his past misconduct, but of every favour and exaltation for the future, that the affection and generosity of a prince and a brother could bestow The weak and wavering mind of Hindal was shaken by these remonstrances of duty and wisdom He had not yet made any irrevocable manifestation of his rebellious intentions, and was once more persuaded to return to his allegiance, and to join in an active effort to drive the common enemy out of the field, and free his sovereign from his distress and peril The very next day, he sent to make fresh requisitions from Muhammed Bakhshi, the governor, of such a quantity of

* Akbarnáma, ff 43—45, Tab Nisábname-e Afgh ff 90, 91, Akb 150, 151, Jouher, c 4, Tar Bed f 142

warlike stores and equipments, arms, cattle and money, as would enable him to put his army instantly in motion, and to proceed to the relief of Juárez. With all his demands, the governor, influenced by the Sheikh, professed his readiness instantly to comply, except as to money, all that was in the treasury having already, he affirmed, been disbursed among the troops.

Only four or five days had gone on, in this course of vigorous preparation, when Núr-ed-dín Mírza, who had entered entirely into the views of the fugitive lords, arrived from Kanauj. He came, intending to carry into effect the plan that had so lately been concerted and settled between them and Hindal. Finding the course things had taken, he, by the weight of his authority, once more produced a change in the vacillating mind of the Mírza. Muhammed Ghází was again sent to renew the agreement with them. To this they consented, but only on condition that Sheikh Bhúl, who was the acknowledged agent of the Emperor in Hindal's camp, and had been the means of breaking the first agreement, should be publicly put to death, an act, they said, necessary to prove at once the sincerity of the Mírza's return to their views, and his fixed determination to enter into no terms with his brother. These conditions were acceded to by the prince, and Sheikh Bhúl, who suspected no change of policy, and every moment of whose time was actively employed in superintending the despatch of arms and stores to the camp, and in removing any impediments to the immediate march of the troops, was seized in his own house by Núr-ed-dín Muhammed Mírza, carried across the Jamna, and beheaded on a sandy down* near the gardens of Báber's palace, under the shallow pretence that he carried on a secret correspondence with the Afgháns.

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The compact of the confederates being thus sealed in holy blood, the rebellious Amírs now moved to Agra, and waited on Hindal, who was proclaimed Emperor, and the public prayers were read, and money coined in his name. The troops were immediately put in motion, but it was towards Delhi, not Juánpúr. Muhammed Bakhshí, deeply shocked at the murder of the Sheikh, waited on the Mírza "You have slain the Sheikh," said he, "why am I spared?" But blood enough had been shed. He tried to pacify the faithful Amír, and sent him to the camp. The most earnest remonstrances on his cruel proceedings, came from the ladies of his father's Harem. When Hindal went to the palace of his mother, Dildár Aghácheh, he found her attired in deep mourning. On his reproaching her for assuming the garb of sorrow, at a moment when his accession to the throne called only for joy and festivity, that lady, whose affections made her far-sighted, with tears assured her son, that, far from participating in his delight, she saw, in all that was passing around her, matter only of profound regret and condolence, that she seemed already to be mourning over his bier, that, young and inexperienced as he was, he had given himself up to the guidance of evil counsellors, who had engaged him in a course that could lead only to ruin. "And," continued she, "to your other guilt, you have added the stain of innocent blood. You have murdered the holy Sheikh. Away! and do not defile my palace with your presence." * The prince used every means he could devise to soothe her resentment and sorrow, and insisted on carrying her along with him in his march to Delhi.

The news of these proceedings at Agra soon reached Yádgár Násir Mírza and Mír Fakhr Ali, who were still at Kalpi, preparing to join Hindal on his march to

* Akbernáma, ff 43, 44, Tabak. c 4, Tar Bedáuni, f 142., Khafí Akb., Ferishta, ii 85, 86, Jouber, Khan, f 47

the eastward. Perceiving it once that nothing could be done to prevent the intended revolt, they instantly resolved to strain every nerve to secure Delhi, and accordingly, proceeding by forced marches, and by a circuitous route that they might escape observation, they succeeded in throwing themselves into that ancient capital. Humdāl Mirza on leaving Agra, had marched straight for Delhi, expecting to get possession of it with little resistance in the absence of the governor. When he arrived at Hamidpur, near Firūz abad, he got notice of their rapid march, and, seeing himself anticipated, hesitated whether or not to go on. Finally, however he resolved to push forward, and besiege the town. On his march he was joined by many of the smaller zemindars of the neighbourhood.

CHAP. IV
SECT. II

He attacks
Delhi.

The faithful noblemen, who had thrown themselves into Delhi used every exertion to strengthen the works and the garrison, and did all that activity and valour could effect to repulse the besiegers. They despatched messenger after messenger to Kāmran Mirza, to call him to their aid. That prince was then at the height of his reputation. He had made two successful expeditions from Delhi to Kandahar, in the first of which he had relieved, and in the second, retaken that important town. His dominions stretched from Hissar-Firūz to Zemindāwar on the one side, and to Badakhshān on the other. On hearing of the distracted state of the empire, the danger of Humāyūn in Bengal, the increasing power of Shīr Khān, and the rebellion of Humdāl, Kāmran Mirza had determined to advance into Hindustān, and had set out at the head of ten thousand horse. He met the messengers on the road, received their despatches, and moved forward with increased speed, so that ere long news arrived in the camp of the besiegers that he was near at hand, and had reached Sonpat, which lies between Panipat and Delhi. Upon

Kāmran
Mirza is
called in to
relieve it.

BOOK IV

A D 1539
Hindal re-
tires to
Agra.

Kámran
also in re-
volt.

A H 946,
A H 1539

this, Hindal, seeing all hope gone of gaining the town, abandoned the siege, and hastened back to Agra

The part that Kámran Mírza was to act, in the present state of affairs, was a matter of the deepest importance. In his hand was placed the fate of the house of Báber. It soon appeared that he pursued a short-sighted policy, and that, while he professed to serve his brother Humáyun, he in reality looked only to his own supposed advantage. As he approached

Delhi, the governor came out to meet him. Mír Fakhr Alí, having easily penetrated the prince's designs, ventured to offer him his advice. He told him that Yádgár Násir Mírza was in the place, determined to hold it for Humáyun, which he certainly would do, if attacked at that moment, that it was Kámran's best policy, whatever were his ultimate views, to follow Hindal to Agra, so as to prevent his gaining a decided influence there, that, if Agra, the capital, fell, Yádgár Násir would no longer have the same inducement to hold out, and Delhi would then submit without a struggle. In the end, he had sufficient address to persuade Kámran to march on to Agra, and Yádgár, thus left undisturbed, employed the leisure afforded him in strengthening the defences, and adding to the garrison.

Pursues
Hindal,

As Kámran approached Agra, Hindal, who had been joined by none of the jágirdárs of note, finding himself unequal to maintain a contest with his brother, fled with five thousand horse to Alwar, the capital of Mewát, his government. His mother remained behind, and, influenced by the representations of Kámran Mírza, who became responsible for his safety, soon after prevailed upon him to make his submission to that prince, and to return to Agra. In this submission he was joined by the refractory Amírs, who had espoused his cause, and the whole confederates, now apparently united in a common cause, met, and, having crossed the Jamná, formed an army on its left bank for the

receives his
submission,

professed purpose of marching against Shír Khan Kámrán Mírza held the chief command. The army moved slowly forward a few marches. The general confidence began to revive, insomuch that traders ventured to carry stores and other supplies, which they attempted to introduce into the Emperor's camp at Chonsa. But Kámrán was the slave of a guilty ambition, and swayed by bad advisers, among whom appear to have been the fugitive Amírs, who sought to widen the breach between the brothers. They sought to convince him that to destroy the enemy, and so release the Emperor, was only laying a snare for his own destruction. Influenced by such counsellors, the advance, slow at first, afterwards ceased, and by and by he was persuaded that the season for doing any thing was past, that it was better to return, preserve the stores and munitions of war, and husband his resources, that the troops might be allowed to return home, and make every thing ready for a new campaign, that, meanwhile, should Shír Khan defeat the Emperor, they would be prepared to face him, and should Humáyun destroy Shír Khan, they would possess the means of making terms with arms in their hands. Lending a ready ear to such false and shallow reasoning, Kámrán led his army back to Agra about the beginning of the rains, abandoning his brother to his fate.*

CHAP. IV
SECT. II

marches
against
Shír Khan.

But returns
without en-
gaging him

Humáyun had now been for two months cooped up in his camp at Chonsa, and suffering many privations. He could not bring his wary antagonist, whose camp was deeply entrenched and defended by artillery, to leave it and engage in the open plain, nor was he able,

Continued
distress of
Humáyun
at Chonsa.

* Akbarnáma, ff 43, 44, Tar Akb., Jouher, c. 4, Ferishta, vol. II pp 85—87, Khafi Khan, f 47, Tar Reshídi, ff 365, 366. Several historians, Nizam-ed din Ahmed, the author of the Tabakat-e Akberi, Ferishta, and Khafi Khan,

make Kamran assume the title of Emperor. From the narrative of Abulfazl and of Jouher, c. 5, and still more from that of Haider Mírza, I think it probable that he assumed the authority, but not the name

BOOK IV

A D 1539

in face of the enemy, to effect the passage of the Ganges, though he lay close to that river. The superiority which his troops maintained in partial skirmishes was of no avail. He lay in an enemy's country, and the opposite bank, as far as Kanáuj, was overrun by the Afgháns. His only hope of relief was from his brothers, who possessed the means of collecting an army, and marching to succour him, but the news which reached him from Agra, first of the treason of Hindal, and afterwards of the arrival and unworthy conduct of Kámrán, at length convinced him that, while his danger was daily increasing, he had nothing to expect from them. To add to his misfortunes, the periodical rains, which set in with great violence, increased the difficulty of moving, or of receiving supplies or reinforcements. Part of the camp of Shír Shah was laid under water, which forced him to move, with the greatest part of his troops, to the higher ground, two or three kos off, leaving his cannon and fortified position under the guard of a portion of his army. But the skirmishing continued, and no prospect of relief appeared.

A H 940,
Moharrem
A D 1539,
June

He sends an
envoy to
Shír Shah

At length Humáyun, compelled by the necessity of his situation, sent one Múlla Muhammad Barghiz, who was known to Shír Shah, to treat of a pacification. He found the new king busy with his spade, in the heat of the day, among his soldiers, who were employed in digging a trench. On seeing the ambassador, the King washed his hands, a temporary awning was spread, and he sat down under it on the ground, without ceremony, and received the envoy. To the observations which the Múlla made, when he communicated the Emperor's message, the King only replied, "Go, and tell your Emperor this from me: he is desirous of war, his troops are not, I do not wish for war, my troops do." He, however, gave instructions to Shakh Khail, whom he called his Menashid, or spiritual father, an eminent and

pious divine, descended from the famous saint, Sheikh Fend Shikerganj, and, having sent him to Humáyun, a negotiation was entered into

CHAP IV
SECT II

An intercourse of messengers between the camps now took place—the conditions of the treaty were discussed, and were supposed to be nearly arranged. An armistice seems to have followed, the men of the two armies met on friendly terms, and even amused themselves by making pleasure parties to visit the opposite camps. Shír Shah took advantage of this calm to despatch Khawas Khan, with some thousand horse, to chastise Rájá Mhantá, who had assisted Humáyun, not only with his troops, both horse and foot, but by cutting off the supplies of Shír Shah's army, and who had resisted every offer of reward and threat of vengeance that had been made to secure his neutrality. The Khan prevailed, after an obstinate encounter, defeated and slew the Rájá, and brought back his head, which he laid at the feet of his sovereign.

Negotia-
tion and
armistice

The treaty was meanwhile in progress*, and the conditions at last settled between the envoys were, that all Bengal, and his old págir in Behár, should be conceded to Shír Shah, who was to acknowledge Humáyun as his lord paramount, and to read the Khutba in his name. But Shír Shah insisted that, in addition to this, Chunar should be restored to him, and, after some

Proposed
terms of
treaty

* As to the supposed treaty of peace, Abulfazl says little but de-claims against the cunning and treachery of Shír Khan, Akbari f 15. The Iar Nizami, f 214, Iahat Alb f 150, and Iar Bid f 142, make peace concluded, on condition that Humayun was to be allowed to return home in safety, Shír Khan retaining Bengal as far as Garhi, the khutba to be read in the Emperor's name. Touher makes him insist on Chunar being given

up, to which Humayun was compelled to assent. The Nisibnama makes Bengal given up as far as Garhi. Ferishta makes Bengal and Behar be ceded to Shír Khan for the payment of a trifling tribute, and adds that the treaty was signed and ratified by mutual oaths. Briggs's Ferishta, vol ii p 87. The Kholasat ul-Towarikh, f 276, also supposes a peace to have been concluded.

BOOK IV delay, Humáyun, though reluctantly, was obliged to consent.

A.D. 1539

Negligence
of Hu-
máyun.

Some affirm that this treaty was mutually agreed to, and confirmed by oath, but perhaps no definitive treaty was signed. Preparations were made for breaking up both camps. Shír Shah, having constructed a bridge over the Karamnása, had sent his best men two or three days' march to Behár, on their way to Bengal. The Emperor seems to have withdrawn his outposts. His troops dispersed carelessly about the camp, and all were busy in packing up their baggage and the public stores, and in finishing a bridge of boats, which they were constructing over the Ganges for their return home. The camp was a scene of bustle and rejoicing.

Attack by
Shír Shah.

Shír Shah, seeing that Humáyun and his generals were thrown off their guard, believed that the wished-for moment was at hand for striking a blow, which should at once avenge the wrongs of the Afgháns, and destroy the Emperor, his army, and the House of Báber. The most atrocious breach of faith cost him nothing, it was the very basis of his policy. He directed the troops that had marched, to countermarch secretly and with speed. He divided the force intended for the enterprise into three columns, taking one himself*, giving another to his son, Jikál Khan, and the third to his general, Khowás Khan. He ordered Khowás Khan to take a circuit with his division, and as the day dawned, to surprise the enemy by the river side, to seize the boats and other craft in the river, and to put to the sword all who came in his way. The other two columns were to co-operate by attacking on different quarters. It is asserted that Sheikh Khalíl, who was in Shír Shah's camp, sent to desire the Emperor to be on his guard against a surprise, as Khowás Khan had marched, about afternoon prayers†, with a

* "Having his back to the as if he had come from the west
Kibleh," says Jouber, which looks † Namaz-diger Jouber

CHAP IV
SECT II.

Slaughter
of the Im-
perialists

Danger of
Humáyun.

strong body of men, but that no attention was paid to the intimation

The watch, which that night was under Muhammed Zemán Mírza, was but negligently kept. Before the morning twilight appeared, an uproar was heard in the rear toward the river. Soon after was seen a crowd of women and camp-followers, flying in confusion over the whole camp. The Afgháns were found to have entered, and were slaying all they met, without mercy or distinction. The surprise was complete. To numbers their sleep became the sleep of death. The troops in general had not time to arm, to saddle their horses, or to form in order, before the Afgháns poured in on every side. Humáyun started from sleep* on the first alarm. The imperial kettle-drums were beaten, and about three hundred horse soon gathered around him. Just as he was mounting his horse, Bába Jeláir and Terdí Beg Kuch Beg joined him. He besought them to spare no exertion to bring off the empress, Háji Begum. These devoted servants, while zealously attempting to execute his orders, were slain fighting at the entrance of the private tents. Míi Pehlewan Badakhshí, another officer of distinction, and a considerable number of men, shared the same fate, in attempting the same achievement. They failed in their purpose, and the princess fell into the hands of the Afgháns. At this crisis, Shír Shah himself happened to arrive. He ordered his eunuchs and most trusty servants, with a party of armed men, to keep watch round the harem, and to suffer none to be injured. The wives and families of the officers and men of the vanquished army fled, and took refuge in this asylum, where they were safe. While Humáyun was attempting to collect his troops, a party of the enemy, with an elephant, came down upon him. He made a sign to some of his household, who were by, to

* The Nisabnáma says that he was reading the Koran

BOOK IV

A D 1539

He is
wounded,swims the
riverHis army
annihil-
ated

attack it. As they hesitated, he snatched his spear from the officer who carried it, spurred on his horse, and struck the animal on the head with such force, that he was unable to draw the spear out again. Meanwhile, an archer who sat on the howdah, wounded him on the arm with an arrow. This compelled the Emperor to retire, leaving his spear in the wound. He now called out to those who were near him to join him in a charge, but was not seconded. All was disorder. One of his followers, seizing his reins, exclaimed, in Oriental phrase, "This is no time for dallying the feast is over, why linger near the food?" and led him towards the river. On reaching the bank, he found the bridge broken down. At once he spurred his horse, and plunged into the stream, but was soon dismounted*. At this moment of danger, a water-carrier swam up to him, presented him with his water-bag, which he had filled with air, and made a sign to the sinking monarch to lay hold of it. He did so, and made his way across, the water-carrier swimming by him and assisting him. On reaching the opposite bank, the Emperor asked his deliverer what was his name. He said it was Nizám. "To me," said the Emperor, in the exuberance of his gratitude, "thou art as Nizám Aulía, and thou shalt be placed on my throne."†

The defeat was complete. Shír Shah had left nothing to accident. The camp had been attacked on every side, as soon as it was entered on the rear. On the river, the bridge was broken down, and boats were in

* "The Emperor came to the banks of the river," says Jouher, c. v. "An elephant, Girdbáz by name, accompanied him. He ordered the driver to break down the bridge, which he did. His Majesty drove his horse into the river, but lost his seat," &c. The Akbernama, f 45 and Nisabnama, ff 91, 92, represent the bridge as being broken

down by the Afghans

† Nizám-ed-dín Aulía is a celebrated saint. Some writers make the promise to Nizám to be, that he should occupy the throne for half a day, others, till noon. The Iabakát calls Nizám, Muhammed Sakka, Muhammed the water-carrier. See Akbernama f 45, Jouher, c 5, Tar Bed ff 142, 143

readiness, which sailed up and down, filled with men armed with matchlocks and spears, who killed all they could reach in the water. The whole tents, camp-equipage, baggage, artillery, stores, and what remained of the treasure, fell into the hands of the conqueror Muhammed Zemán Mirza, Moulána Muhammed Ali, Moulána Kásim Ali, the Sadí, or Head of the Law, many other officers of distinction, and eight thousand of the Emperor's best Tairai troops, perished on this disastrous day, besides numbers of inferior note and camp followers. This memorable event occurred at the Chúpah Ghat, on the banks of the Ganges, on the 27th day of June, A D 1539.*

CHAP IV
SECT II

A D 946,
A D 1539

Sefer 9,
June 27

Proceed-
ings of
Shír Shah

When Shír Shah, after the final discomfiture and dispersion of the enemy, returned to the imperial tents, he dismounted in the Hall of Audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Giver of all victory. He did not now hesitate to declare a dream which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humáyun were both carried into the presence of the prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him, that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Shír Shah, and at the same time, taking the crown and cap of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice. This dream, he said, he had not published before the battle, lest it should be regarded as a device to inspire courage into the Afgháns. He sent a courteous message to the captive Empress, condoling with her on the deceitfulness of fortune, but adding that, in former

* In this account of the campaign of Bengal and Behár, and its disastrous close, the authorities chiefly followed have been, Akbern ff 44, 45, Tab Akb ff 150 175, Tar Nizami, ff 213, 214, Jouher s Mem c. 4, 5, Nisábnáma-e Afgh

ff 90—92, Tar Bedáuni, f 142, Briggs's Ferishta, vol. II pp 81—88, Kháfi Khan, f 47. The Tarikh-e Bedáuni gives some lines which Shír Shah wrote on the memorable victory which closed the campaign.

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A D 1539

days he had been protected and cherished by the imperial house, and regarded himself as a child of the family, and he promised to send her back, with all the Harem, to Agra, as soon as the Emperor was known to have reached it,—a promise which he faithfully performed. He ordered the same allowances to be issued to all who were in the Harem, that they had previously been accustomed to receive, and commanded that all the other women and children of the vanquished army, who had been made prisoners, should be protected, and allowed to return home, at their own pleasure *

Humáyun
makes his
way to
Agra.

The Emperor remained but a short time on the left bank of the Ganges, to collect such of his troops as, by the strength of their horses, or in any other manner, had been able to get across the river. Having been joined by his brother Askeri and some other chiefs, they soon after rode off for Agra. He had not advanced far, when he found that he had not yet escaped all danger, as it appeared that Mír Feríd Gúí, an Afghán officer, was following him in the rear, while Shah Muhammed Afghán had taken post in front, to arrest his farther progress. This news so much disheartened the troops, already worn out with fatigue, that fears were entertained lest they should desert their standards. In this emergency, Raja Prabhan, a Rájput chief, volunteered with his followers to check the advance of Mír Feríd, so as to allow his Majesty to bend the whole force of his arms against the enemy, who shut up the road by which they were to advance. The offer was accepted, and the Emperor with his followers marched straight against the Afgháns in front, who, intimidated by their determined appearance, abandoned their ground and left the road open. The

Emperor proceeded by way of Kalpi, and, after a rapid and laborious march, reached Agra *

CHAP. IV
SECT. II

Meanwhile Shîr Shah lost no time in improving his victory. Besides the force which he despatched in pursuit of the fugitives, he hastened back into Bengal with a strong body of troops, accompanied by his son Jilâl Khan, and attacked Jehangîr-Kulî, the Emperor's general, whom he defeated in several successive actions. That brave officer, unable to keep the field, was compelled to retreat into the territory of some native zemindars, where he maintained an obstinate struggle for some time; but, in the end, he and most of his troops were overtaken and slain by the overpowering superiority of the Afghans, so that of his whole army, Derwîsh Mûsûd Bengalî † was the only man of note who ever rejoined the Emperor. Shîr Shah was now proclaimed king without opposition, in Bengal also, and though he was soon obliged to leave the country ‡, to attend in person to his affairs in the north, he directed his attention unremittingly, for the next two years to complete the reduction of that kingdom, and to place its revenue and internal affairs on a satisfactory footing.

Shîr Shah
supreme in
Bengal and
Bihâr

The effects of the great victory at Chonsa were not confined to Bengal, they extended in every direction.

And all the
lower
Gangetic
provinces

* Jouher, c. 5. The Raja, who behaved with so much spirit, is said to be of Aril or Arul. There are two Aruls. One opposite Allahabad, across the Jamna, and one eleven miles S. by E. from Kanauj. (See Hamilton's Hindustan, vol. i. pp. 101, 171.)

† He was of the Ziaret-gâh near Herat, and consequently of a religious family. Akber's f. 61. Ictishâ states, vol. ii. p. 88, that Jehangîr Beg was expelled from Bengal, and rejoined Humayun, which is certainly a mistake, as he

himself mentions, vol. ii. p. 117, that he was defeated and slain in Bengal.

‡ Tar Nizâm-i f. 214, Tab Akh f. 160, Albernâma, f. 45, Tarikh Bedayuni, f. 143, Nisab-nama, ff. 91—93. The Nizabnama says that, after many actions, Jehangîr was besieged and slain in Garohn. Is this the Garrows? Abulfazl makes Shîr Shah halt on the borders of Behar, and send his son, Jilâl Khan, to complete the destruction of Jehangîr-Kulî's force.

BOOK IV

A D 1539

Shír Shah was soon undisputed master of Behár. He crossed the Ganges to renew the siege of Juánpúr, which, with the whole territory dependent on it, surrendered with little resistance. In like manner he overran the rest of the country, east of the Ganges, as far as Kanáuj. Not content with this success, he sent his son Kutb Khan across that river, and through the Doáb, with a large detachment, for the purpose of reducing the important towns of Kalpi and Etáwa on the Jamna. The wide dominions of Humáyun seemed now to have shrunk into the narrow space circumscribed by the walls of Agra and Delhi, and his tenure, even of these cities, was far from being secure.

CHAPTER V

HUMÁYUN'S EXPULSION FROM HINDUSTAN

HUMÁYUN JOINS KÁMRÁN AT AGRA.—HUMILIATION OF HINDAL.—
 HUMÁYUN PREPARES AGAIN TO ATTACK SHÍR SHAH—ILLNESS AND
 RETREAT OF KÁMRÁN—DEFEAT OF SHÍR SHAH'S ADVANCED ARMY
 HAIDER MIRZA DOGHLAT IN HUMÁYUN'S CAMP—HIS CHARACTER
 OF THE EMPEROR—AND ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN—AND OF
 THE BATTLE OF KANAUJ—OTHER ACCOUNTS OF THAT DISASTER—
 FLIGHT OF HUMÁYUN—HE ARRIVES AT AGRA.—PROCEEDS TOWARDS
 DELHI—AND ONWARDS TO THE PENJÁB—SHÍR SHAH AT DELHI—
 HIS PARTIES PURSUE HUMÁYUN ACROSS THE SATLEJ—SELFISH
 CONDUCT OF KÁMRÁN—TREATY AMONG THE IMPERIAL BROTHERS
 —THEIR WANT OF UNION—TREACHERY OF KÁMRÁN—SHÍR SHAH
 RECEIVES HIS OVERTURES.—ENTERS THE PENJÁB—THE IMPERIAL
 FAMILY] QUIT LÁHUR—KÁMRÁN DEPARTS FOR KÁBUL—HINDAL
 FOR SIND AND GUJRÁT—HUMÁYUN MEDITATES AN EXPEDITION TO
 KASHMIR.—RECENT EVENTS THERE—KÁMRÁN THWARTS THE
 PLANS OF HUMÁYUN—WHO PROCEEDS TOWARDS SIND—HINDAL
 REJOINS HIM AT GUL-DALUCH—THEY PASS THE TERRITORIES OF
 BAKHSHUI LANGA—AND PEACH SIND—RECENT STATE, AND PAST
 CAREER OF HUMÁYUN—THE AFGHÁN SUPREMACY RESTORED IN
 INDIA, UNDER SHÍR SHAH

HUMÁYUN, on his arrival near Agra after his disastrous expedition, found his brother Kámrán, who, about a month after his impolitic and inglorious retreat, was encamped at the Zirefshán gardens. When the Mírzas, Kámrán and Hindal, received intelligence of the Emperor's discomfiture, followed by certain information that Shír Shah was taking possession of the country on every side, they perceived, too late, that, circumstanced as things were, it was in vain to think of dethroning the Emperor, with any hope of establishing themselves in his stead, and that the only safety of the brothers lay in their union. Nor would it have been politic, on the

CHAP V

▲ H 946
 ▲ D 1639
 Humáyun
 joins Kám
 ran at
 Agra.

BOOK IV

A D 1539

Emperor's part, with the small force that he had been able to save from the wreck of his army, to attempt to punish them for their late defection. As he came near Agra, he galloped forward and entered Kámrán's tent, before the Mírza was aware of his coming *. The brothers embraced each other affectionately, and with many tears. They afterwards went and sat down together, in a friendly manner, in the porch of the pavilion. Mutual explanations followed. The veil of silence was probably thrown over the offences of Kámrán, still chiefly secret and in embryo. Hindal's desertion and his open assumption of royalty were pardoned, at the intercession of his excellent mother, and of Kámrán, and he soon after arrived from Alwar, his jágír, and joined his brothers.

Humilia-
tion of
Hindal

But as his offence was public, so was his humiliation. Humáyun, soon after his return, gave a grand feast in the palace of Báber's garden, to which all the Mírzas and the chief officers and Amírs were invited. In the midst of the entertainment, and in presence of the whole assembly, the Emperor, addressing Kámrán, asked him why Hindal Mírza had rebelled. Kámrán, turning to Hindal, who was present, inquired, what had induced him, instead of assisting his Majesty in his difficulties, to break out into revolt. The Mírza, covered with confusion, replied, that he was young and inexperienced, and that some Amírs, such as Záhid Beg, Khusrou Kokiltash, Háji Muhammed, and others, had misled him by bad advice, but entreated forgiveness of his offences, — an answer fatal to a man of ambition. "Well," said Humáyun, "at Kámrán Mírza's entreaty, I do forgive you and them, but correct your views, and amend your conduct, and above all, henceforward do not listen to my enemies." After some farther admonition, he

* Tab Akb f 51. The author attended the Emperor in this flight. mentions that his father, Muhammed See also Jouher, c v. Mokim, was one of the few who

added, "What is past is past. We must now all join manfully to repel the common enemy." The princes and Amirs, applauding his clemency, loudly joined in assuring him that, by his favour and the divine assistance, they would soon extirpate Shu Khan and his race. Solemn prayers and vows were repeated, and it was fixed that, as early as was practicable, the imperial tents should be pitched in the Zirefshan garden, ready for the field.*

CHAP. V

Not long after the Emperor's return to Agra, the water-carrier, who had saved his life at Chousa, presented himself at the public darbar. Humáyun, as soon as he saw the poor man from afar, mindful of his danger and his vow, descended from the throne, and, in strict compliance with the words of his promise, allowed him to mount "the throne of the world," and to occupy it for half a day. Whatever commands the new sovereign issued were literally and instantly fulfilled, even where the imperial decrees and usages happened to stand in the way, and the delighted monarch employed his power, during his short reign, to make several of his friends and family happy for the whole future course of their lives. This mimicry did not escape the ridicule and scorn of Káimán†

Humayun rewards his deliverer at Chousa.

Indeed, though policy and necessity united the brothers for a season, it was soon but too evident that there was little cordiality between them. Meanwhile, however, the levying of troops went on, many Amirs joined the Emperor with reinforcements from their jagirs, and among others, Muhammed Sultan Mirza

Prepares again to attack Shír Shah,

* Youher, c. v.

† Abulfazl, Ferishta, and the author of the *Kholiset-ul-Fowarikh*, say that he filled the throne for half a-day. Youher, for two hours (*do saat*). The author of the *Kholiset* adds that the report prevalent in his day was, that the water-

carrier, to complete the semblance of imperial power, had his leathern *mashek*, or water-bag, cut into pieces of the size and shape of different combs, which were gilt or plated, and stamped with his name, and the date of his reign and of the Hejra, as a sovereign prince

BOOK IV

A. D. 1539

and his sons, who had so long been in a state of rebellion, finding, probably, that no single branch of the divided house of Taimur could withstand the overwhelming superiority of the Afgháns, once more sought and gained the imperial pardon and protection. The army gradually swelled, but more perhaps in numbers than in effective strength.

A. D. 1540

The brothers, after their reconciliation, held many long consultations on the course to be pursued, but, in the state of mutual feeling in which they were, to very little purpose. Nothing was concluded. Kámrán strongly urged Humáyun to remain in the capital, and to entrust to him the conduct of the campaign, undertaking, with his army of the Penjáb, which amounted to 20,000 men, still fresh and unbroken, to give a good account of Shír Shah. But to this the Emperor refused to consent, declaring that, as he had been treacherously defeated by the Afgháns, he was determined to have his revenge in person. During the delays that succeeded, Kámrán, who in no respect entered into the Emperor's views, showed the strongest desire to return to Láhúr, and repeatedly asked leave to go. Every wish of Kámrán's, but that alone, was readily granted. In vain did the Míza urge that the government of his extensive territories required his presence. For seven months did he persist in his petitions and entreaties to be allowed to depart, when news arrived that Shír Shah, having cleared Bengal of the imperial troops, had collected a formidable army, and was on his march to attack the brothers.*

who advances to meet him
Humzán,
January

Illness and
retreat of
Kámrán

It might have been supposed that such a demonstration would have induced them to unite heartily against the common enemy. But Kámrán had no wish to add to his brother's power, which he still regarded as dangerous to his own independence and his impatience

* Akbernáma, f 46, Tab Akb Bedáuni, f 143, Jouher, c 5, f 151, Tar Niz f 214, Tar Ferishta, &c

to return to the north was increased by a severe attack of illness, which ended in a complication of disorders. The climate of Hindustán was unfavourable to his constitution. His malady, in the course of two or three months, was aggravated by a slow fever attended with eruptions over his body, great emaciation and the partial loss of the use of his limbs. The power of medicine failed: it was insinuated that his complaints were the effect of poison, and he determined to return.

CHAP. V

February
to April

"The retreat of Kámrán," says Haider Mírza*, "was the efficient cause of the rise of Shír Khan, and of the fall of the Chaghatáí dynasty." The Emperor spared no entreaty to prevail upon him to leave some of the chief men of his army with their followers behind as auxiliaries, but, far from assenting to this, he perversely used his endeavours to seduce such of the Emperor's officers and troops as were in Agra, to accompany him. His minister, Ainír Khwaja Kilán, who never ceased urging him to quit Agra, was at last sent before with the mainbody of the army, and Kámrán himself prepared to follow.

Meanwhile Shír Sháh advanced to the Ganges, which he crossed, and detached his younger son Kutb Khan across the Doáb to attack Kalpi and Etáwa, positions of importance from their vicinity to the capital. They were held by Yádgún Názir Mírza and Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, and a part of Kalpi had been given in jagír to Kámrán. The Amís assembled their followers, and being joined by Sekander Sultan with a detachment of Kámrán's troops, marched out to check the progress of the invaders. They had no difficulty in bringing the enemy to an action, and completely routed them in a desperate battle, in which Kutb Khan was left dead on the field. His head was cut off, and sent with many others to Agra. The victorious generals strongly

Defeat of
Shír Shah's
advanced
army

* Tarikh-i-Rashidi, f. 367

BOOK IV advised the Emperor to follow up his success, and instantly to take the field in person. He accordingly marched from Agra towards the Ganges to meet and engage Shír Shah *

Haider
Mírza
Doghlat in
Humáyun's
camp

The efforts of Humáyun to detain his brother and his troops at this important and dangerous crisis were unsuccessful, but several of Kámrán's officers were prevailed upon to remain. Of these, the most eminent was his cousin, the celebrated Haider Mírza Doghlat †, who, in his own defence, states at some length the arguments used to influence him, and they are curious as showing the feelings of the brothers to each other. He was high in the Mírza's confidence, and we have seen that he was even left, for upwards of a year, in charge of the government of Láhúr, during Kámrán's last expedition for the recovery of Kandahár. Kámrán remonstrated with him on his proposed desertion, and reminded him that he had received him in his Court when an exile from his own country, that he had treated him all along as if he had been a brother, with the most distinguished confidence and consideration, and intrusted to him the chief conduct of his affairs, and that, in return for all this, to leave him, his cousin, at such a moment, when a powerful enemy threatened his kingdom, and his body was wasting under a dangerous disease, would be the height of unkindness and ingratitude. On the other hand, Haider tells us that he had become the Emperor's brother after the Moghul fashion, an engagement which bound them to each other by the strongest ties of honour. The Emperor never spoke to him nor addressed him, even in his public firmáns, by any other name than that of brother and friend, a distinction shown to none of the Sultans of the Court, nor even to his own brothers. Humáyun,

* Albernáma and Tab Akberi,
as above

† Haider was the son of Mu-

ammed Husein Korkan Doghlat,
by the sister of Báber's mother

on his part also, remonstrated with Haider Mirza, and laid claim to his services. He said, that though Haider was in Kámran's employment, he himself had really been utterly guided in every thing by his counsels, that as to his being Kámran's cousin, he stood in exactly the same relation to him, and as for his illness, even if it were real, Haider was no physician that the present was no ordinary time—that, on the issue of the approaching combat with Shír Sháh, depended the fate, not of Humáyun merely, but of Kámran himself, nay of the whole family of Baber, and of Hindustan itself—that if Shír Khán was successful, all was lost, and Kámran would not find himself safe even in Láhúr—that, as a faithful and enlightened friend of their house, it was Haider's duty to consult the general good and remain behind—unless, indeed, he dreaded the issue of the contest, and was anxious to shelter himself from danger by getting to Láhúr as a place whence, in case of calamity, he could easily betake himself elsewhere at will. "This reasoning," says Haider Mirza, "was to me conclusive, and I made up my mind to remain. Being unable, by any entreaties, to obtain Kámran's permission, I stand without it. Kámran Mirza, leaving Iskander Mirza with about a thousand men as auxiliaries, and taking with him as many as he could*, set out for Láhúr—and this," continues he, "to the enemy was a victory, and to his friends a defeat."

The selfish and short-sighted policy of Kámran was fatal to his family—and Humáyun, with many excellent and agreeable qualities, had not the talents required to support a sinking empire. We have a character of him, as he was at this time, drawn by an able hand, which

His character of the Emperor

* Ferishta, vol. ii p. 89, follows Haider in regard to the number of men left. The Akbarnama, f. 46, has three thousand under Abdalla Moghul the kholiset ul-fowarikh has the same number, the Tab

Akb and Nisabnama, f. 93, have two thousand. The number carried back is stated at twenty thousand. He must have been joined by reinforcements after leaving the Punjab.

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bears every mark of truth and impartiality "Humáynn," says Haider Mirza, "as he was the eldest, was the greatest and most distinguished of Büber's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he. but in consequence of his having dissolute and sensual men in his service, and of his intercourse with them, and with men of mean and profligate character, such as in particular Moulána Muhammed Farghani, and others like him, he contracted some bad habits, as, for instance, the excessive use of opium*, and the business which, as a prince, he should himself have managed, he left to them. Nevertheless, he had many excellent qualities. In battle he was steady and brave, in conversation, ingenious and lively; and at the social board, full of wit. He was kind-hearted and generous. He was a dignified and magnificent prince, and observed much state, inasmuch that, though I came into his service at Agra, in his broken fortunes, when people said his pomp and style were no longer what they had been, yet, when the army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign, at which time the superintendence devolved upon me, the number of artisans who accompanied him was seventeen thousand, from which the extent of the other branches of his establishment may be imagined."

State of the
imperial
army
End of
Akbar's
beginning
of April

It was, about the beginning of April when the imperial tents were pitched in the Zulfshán garden. The natural consequences of the Emperor's want of success in the preceding campaigns, and of the discord of the brothers, were visible in the bad spirit that prevailed in the camp and court. The higher Amírs, and especially the Chaghataú nobles, were discontented. The army consisted, in a great measure, of troops hastily raised, and who had seen no service. The great body of veterans had perished in the Bengal expedition. In

the camp there was a general languor and disaffection. The officers showed little zeal, the troops little ardour, all was disorganised. Shír Shah appears to have recrossed the Ganges on the Emperor's approach, and to have baffled him in an attempt to cross the river, over which he had thrown a bridge. Humáyun then marched along the banks to Kanáuḡ. Some of the enemy's ships appearing in the river to dispute the passage, one of the largest was sunk by the fire from the imperial guns. The events that followed may be best understood from the narrative, somewhat abridged, of Haider Mírza, who held a high rank in his army, tinged though in some respects it may be by the colouring thrown upon them by his wounded feelings.

"The imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped, and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Shír Khan on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than two hundred thousand men.* Muhammed Sultan Mírza, and his sons Ulugh Mírza and Shah Mírza, were princes of the house of Taimur, who had been entertained with every mark of kindness and kingly favour by Báber, but after his death had more than once revolted, had been pardoned and received back into favour by Humáyun. They now once more deserted. This defection quite changed the face of things. Desertion became general in the army. The most surprising part of it was, that such as deserted did not go over to Shír Khan, and of course could expect nothing from him. The general cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number even of Kámrán's auxiliary troops deserted, and fled to Láhúr.

Haider
Mírza's ac-
count of
the cam-
paign

"The Emperor had with him a formidable artillery,

* The Emperor's army is usually stated at 90,000, or 100,000, Shír Shah's, at 50,000 — *far Nizami*, f 214, *Nisábnama*, f 92, *Be-dauni*, f 143.

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seven hundred carriages, each having a swivel, and drawn by four pair of bullocks; and sixty-one heavy guns, each drawn by sixty pair of bullocks, and supplied, not with stone, but with leaden bullets

"As the army had begun to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case we could not at least be accused of having abandoned an empire like Hindustán without striking a blow. Another consideration was, that if we passed the river, desertion would no longer be possible. We, therefore, crossed over

"Both armies entrenched themselves. Every day, skirmishes occurred between the irregulars and the Hindus. At length, however, the monsoon rains came on, and there was a heavy fall which flooded the camp. To move was indispensable. Those about the Emperor told him that such another rain would ruin the army, and proposed to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found the place suitable for the purpose. They wished to march immediately. I represented that, when we did march, it would be desirable to divert the attention of the enemy by engaging them in skirmishes, as it would not do to be drawn into a general action, when the army was marching to change its ground. That next day was the tenth of Moharrém, when we could draw out our troops in battle array, without advancing on the Afgháns, or courting an engagement, but that if they left their trenches to attack us, we should engage, that a battle we must have in the end, but that, in the first instance, it was best for us to draw up the army in battle array, and plant the heavy cannon and small guns in front, that there were nearly five thousand gunners, who could be stationed with the guns. That if the enemy did not come out that day, we should return back to

the camp and next day having again drawn out the troops in the same order as before we could keep our ground, while the baggage and stores were conveyed, covered by our lines from the old camp to the new ground; and when that was accomplished, we might retire to our new quarters.

"The plan was approved of and, accordingly, next day" the army was drawn out to carry it into effect. The ranks were marshalled, but were unsteady: the guns and cannon, under the guidance of Muhammed Khan Rumi, the son of Ustad Kuh, Ustad Ahmed Rumi and Hasan Khulifat, were moved forward to the appointed place, accompanied by the artillery men, and chains were extended between them, as is the practice. In the rest of the army were Amirs, — Amirs only in name, who enjoyed governments and rich jigers, without the slightest tincture of prudence, or knowledge, or energy, or emulation, or nobleness of mind, or generosity, qualities from which nobility draws its name. The Emperor placed the author on his left side, so that his right was next the Emperor's left, on the Emperor's right was a chosen band of his tilandch. On my left were placed my retainers, four hundred in number, all tried men, veterans who had experienced the changes of fortune, and were nurtured in hardships. On the day of the battle, they were all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in mail. Between me and the extreme left of the centre stood seven and twenty Amirs, all having the horse-tail banner †. Beyond that was the left wing, the extent and nature of which may be judged of from the other. On the day of battle, when Shur Khan marched out with his army in columns, of the seven and twenty horse-tail standards that were with these great lords, there was not one that was not

And of the
battle of
Kanduj
Moharrem
10
A H 947,
May 17

* Roz e-Ashur Moharrem, 10 or mountain, cow. This was held

† Or, more literally, the *tugh*, only by Amirs of a high class
or banner of the tail of the Tibet,

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emerged from the river on the other bank, a monarch, who at noon had seventeen thousand artisans in his establishments, was mounted upon a wretched spavined horse, with both his head and feet bare. Permanence belongs to God alone, the King of kings. The author had nearly a thousand persons, retainers and servants, of whom only sixty escaped out of the river. All the rest were drowned. From this instance the general loss may be estimated " *

Other ac-
counts of
that dis-
aster

Such is the account of Haider Mírza, which, though it bears evident mark of the disappointment and chagrin which embittered his mind, is that of an able man, and an eyewitness who had the best means of information. From other authorities, even more disposed to cover the failures of the imperial arms, we may glean a few further particulars of this battle, which, for a season, was decisive of the fate of Hindustán. The rains appear to have commenced with unwonted violence, nearly a fortnight before the usual time. Humáyun commanded his own centre, Hindal the advance, Askeri the right, Yádgár Násir the left. On Shír Shah's side, Jílál Khan with his column, chiefly composed of Nází Afgháns, advanced against Hindal, Mobáiez Khan led his against Yádgár and Kásim Husein Sultan, while Khowás Khan was opposed to Askeri. The action is said to have commenced by a rencounter between Hindal's division and that of Jílál Khan, in which Jílál being thrown from his horse, his troops fell into disorder, and Yádgár, on the left, having gained some advantage over the force opposed to him, drove in the right of the Afgháns upon their centre. On observing this, we are told Shír Shah led up a body of his reserve, and checked the progress of the imperialists, while Khowás Khan, on his side, rode forward to attack Askeri, whose division instantly fled. Humáyun in

vain attempted to rally his troops, and to seize a rising ground. His personal exertions were unavailing. All agree that in a short time every thing was confusion and flight.*

CHAP V

When he reached the Ganges, he found an old elephant, and mounted into the howdah, where he found an eunuch of his household, named Kásúr. He ordered the driver to cross the river, but the man told him that the animal was quite unequal to it, and would be drowned. Kásúr hinted to the Emperor that the man wished to carry over the elephant to the Afgháns, and that it was better to put him to death, that he would undertake to guide the animal. On this Humáyun drew his sword, and struck the driver, who fell wounded into the water. The eunuch then stepped down on the elephant's neck, and directed him across. As they gained the banks, which were very steep, the Emperor found it difficult to mount them, when a soldier, who had just gained the shore, presenting his hand to the Emperor, drew him up. Humáyun asked his deliverer's name, and was answered, Shems ed-dín Muhamined of Ghazni, in the service of Mirza Kámran. The Emperor made him high promises. At this moment he was recognised by Mokadam Beg, one of Kamran's nobles, who came forward and presented his own horse †

Flight of Humáyun.

* Akbarnama, ff 45, 46, 47, Jouher, c 5, Ferishta, vol. ii pp 89, 90, Kháfí Khan, ff 48, 49 The Tab Akb ff 151 166, and Tar Niz f 214, Tar Bed 143, with the Nisábname, f 93, agree that the Chaghatai army fled with little or no fighting.

† Akbarnama, f 47, Nisabname, f 93 Jouher c. 5, Tar Bedaun, f 144, Kholiset-ul-Towarikh, f 260.

The narrative of Jouher, which he gives on the Emperor's own authority, differs from the account

of the others in several particulars. "His Majesty further related," says he, "that when he arrived near the bank, it was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. At length, some of the standard bearers (tugh barán), sons of Baba Jelair, viz, Mirza Muhammed and Fers Beg, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he, with some difficulty, climbed up, they then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded to Agra — Stewart's Jouher, p 22, corrected by the

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Shems ed-din afterwards became one of the most distinguished noblemen of the empire, was made Khan Azim, and was the atkeh, or foster father, of Akber, in those days a connection of no small importance

Humáyun was soon after joined by Askeri Mírza, and by Yádgár Násir Mírza, and they all, with the few attendants they could collect, pushed on for Agra. By the road they passed a walled village *, the inhabitants of which, probably accustomed to be plundered alike by the conquerors and the conquered, refused all intercourse with the fugitives, even in the way of buying and selling the necessaries of life, and, it was alleged, attempted to cut off and plunder the stragglers Humáyun, when informed of this refusal, desired Askeri Mírza, Yádgár and Hindal, who had also joined him, to go and punish their insolence. If we believe Abulfazl, about thirty thousand of the neighbouring population had by this time risen to defend themselves, or attack the retiring troops. But the number on the spot was probably inconsiderable. Askeri declined

original. Stewart calls the *tugh-báran*, "camp-colour men." I suspect the word should be *tughdardán*, "nobles who had the tugh-banner," Bába Jeláir was a man of high rank.

* The name of this village is not very clear. Major Price (Mahom Annals) calls it Bankapur, or Behgánu, Major Stewart's Jouher has Bhyngang. My copy of the Ak-bernáma, No 1 f 47, reads Behlánu, or Behgánu, that No 2 f 96, has Bingala. In the Memoirs of Jouher, the opposition made near this village is not treated as so formidable as it is by Abulfazl. It is said "that the peasants stopped the road, and one of them wounded Myrza Yádgár with an arrow on which the Myrza said to the prince Askeri, 'Do you go on and punish

these villagers, while I stop to dress my wound.' The prince was displeased at this request, and gave the Myrza some abuse on which the other retorted in harsher language, when the prince struck him three times with his horsewhip. 'I will repay you after the fashion of kings,' said Yádgár, and struck him several successive blows with his whip, without intermission. When intelligence of this unpleasant fracas reached the Emperor, he said, 'They had better have vented their spite on the robbers than on each other. What has happened cannot be recalled, but let us hear no more of it.'—Stewart's Mem of Humáyun, p 23, slightly modified from the original. Abulfazl makes the first blows proceed from Yádgár

going "It is from such want of co-operation among you," said Yádgái Násir Mírza indignantly, "that we are brought to the state in which we are, and still you are not corrected" These words produced an altercation, and some blows of a whip followed on both sides Yádgái and Hindal Mírza then attacked the villagers, and put many of them to the sword Mírza Askeri's conduct on this occasion gave great offence to the Emperor From this place Humáyun posted on to Agra *

At Agra, Humáyun found little to console him The quarrels of the brothers and their mutual jealousies had thrown every thing into disorder The whole government and army were disorganised Kámrán, when he set out from Agra, had induced some of the officers of government, and a great portion of the garrison, to accompany him to the Penjáb The country had been drained of troops to form the Emperor's army, the greater part of which had perished in the Ganges, or by the sword of the Afgháns, while the scanty remainder was dispersed in flight There was, therefore, no considerable force in reserve to form the nucleus of a new army Nor did any means exist of calling out, in this emergency, the national resources that were still left The nobles were discontented, the peasantry, a prey to misrule and anarchy, the Afgháns hard in pursuit The Emperor, without entering the city, alighted in the suburbs at the house† of Syed Rafia-ed-dín, a very learned and eminent Sufi doctor, who, like many of the distinguished divines of his time, had a high reputation for political sagacity As circumstances were urgent, Hindal Mírza was sent with his followers into the fort to

He arrives
at Agra.

* Akbernáma, f 47

† The Akbernáma (f 47) makes this visit take place the morning after Humayun's arrival The Nisábnáma (f 94) asserts that, in this conversation, Humayun affirmed

that in the late battle he saw a troop of dervishes attack his lines, and not desist till they had broken through them This of course referred to something supernatural

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bring off the Emperor's mother, sisters and family, with their domestics, and such part of their treasure and jewels as they were able to remove. The Syed, meanwhile, placed before the Emperor, bread, melons, and such homely fare as his house at the moment afforded, and soothed his mind by moral and religious reflections on the instability of fortune. Having breakfasted, the Emperor consulted him as to the practicability of defending Agra. From this attempt the Syed strongly dissuaded him, as being hopeless, and advised him to hasten forward to Láhúr, where his brother Kámrán's power was still unbroken. When the Emperor departed, he presented him with a horse richly caparisoned, and gave him his blessing. Humáyun, now abandoning his capital, rode off to Síkri*. He was soon after followed and joined by Hindal with the household.

Humáyun had not been long at Síkri, in his father Báber's garden, when an arrow discharged from an eminence by an unknown hand, fell close by his side. Haider Mírza and an officer, who were sent to discover whence the arrow proceeded, both returned wounded. Apprehensive of treachery, he proceeded on his route to Delhi. He seems to have been in an irritable state, and had but few Amírs left along with him. One of them, Mír Fakr Ali, happening to ride on before him on the road, Humáyun called out angrily, "It was by thy advice that I passed the Ganges. Better would it have been that thou hadst perished there than that this should happen. Go immediately, and leave me." Fakr Ali fell back†. The Emperor had not a more faithful or zealous servant than the Mír, who died soon after on the road to Suhend.

But the Emperor was not doomed to retreat in quiet. Hardly had he reached his ground at the first stage, at Byúna on the banks of the Kanbír, when Askeri

Proceeds
towards
Delhi

Sefer 20
June 26

* Jouher, c 5, Akbernama, f 47. † Jouher, c 6, Akbernama, f 47.

arrived with information that Mír Feríd Gúr, who had been sent in pursuit of them by Sháh Shah, was fast approaching. The Mírza, therefore, advised Humáyun to renew his march without losing a moment, offering, with the few troops still left, to cover his retreat. All was now unseemly trepidation. "In consequence of this advice," says Jouher, "the (Emperor) mounted his horse and set off, but the followers were thrown into the greatest alarm, not knowing what to do. No one attempted to assist another, the son paid no attention to his father, nor the father to the son, but each person endeavoured to conceal whatever valuables he had, and to make his escape, and, to add to their distress, a very heavy rain fell. In short, God preserve us from seeing such another day!"* The Emperor, struck with the misery and dismay of his followers, seems at length to have thought of conducting his retreat with some degree of method. He ordered the troops to halt, divided them into different columns. He himself led the advance, Hindal had the right, Yádgár Násir the left, and the other Amírs brought up the rear. "It was ordered," continued Jouher†, "that if any person went before the Emperor, he should be punished, and his house plundered."

Humáyun at length reached Delhi, where, on the 25th of May, he was joined by Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, and several other Amírs. Hindal and Askeri now took leave to proceed to their jágirs, the one to Alwar, the other to Sambhal, for the purpose of making some hasty arrangements on the spot. The Emperor did not venture to prolong his stay in the ancient capital of the kingdom, and on the 27th, only ten days after the decisive battle, he left it. On the 29th, Hindal Mírza and Haider Mírza rejoined him at the village of Rahtak, where he halted next day. Thence,

And to the
Penjáb
Mohar-
rem 18
May 25

Mohar-
rem 20
May 27

* Stewart's Jouher's Memoirs, † Jouher, from the original.

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Beginning
of Sefer

by long marches of ten or twelve kos, they proceeded to Sirhend, which they reached before the middle of June. There Hindal was halted for a few days, while the Emperor proceeded to Máchíwáa on the Satlej. As the river was swollen by the rains, and as no boats were to be found, they passed it as they best could, and marched on.

Shír Shah
at Delhi

Intelligence now arrived that Shír Shah had halted on reaching Delhi, but had sent forward detachments in pursuit, which were only forty or fifty kos off. The Afghán prince, during his whole life, whether from superstition or policy, had maintained a close intimacy with the leading devotees and holy men of his religion, and with the whole body of religious mendicants, whose influence often afforded him essential service in his various political enterprises. He seems to have been willing to have it believed that a supernatural power favoured all his designs, and among other means, led him on by dreams and visions of the night. The morning of the discomfiture of Humáyun near Kanáj, he related that, the night before, he dreamed that he and Humáyun, alighting from their horses, had wrestled between the two armies, after long and keen struggling, the Emperor threw him upon the ground, and made strong efforts to lift him up again from it, but could not succeed, Shír Shah, clinging to the ground, baffled his attempts. He himself proceeded to interpret the dream, affirming that his aim and ambition had long been to take possession of the ground of Hindustán, which his dream portended that he would do, and that he would baffle Humáyun. Immediately after the battle he pushed after the fugitives, and took possession of Agra, where he got possession of the treasures and arsenals, and then hastened on to Delhi. Here he paused for some time to give the orders rendered necessary by his great success. No effectual resistance was now presented to him from any point of the Emperor's peculiar dominions. The hopes of the family of Báber

were turned to the Penjáb, and to Kábul Shír Shah pushed on a strong force in pursuit of the flying monarch, which soon approached the Satlej Upon this Hindal Míza, with the Emperor's rear-guard, crossed that river, and joining the main body, the whole proceeded to Jalindher, between the Satlej and Biah, where Hindal's division again halted, while Humáyun proceeded to Láhúr on the Rávi *. On his arrival at Láhúr, Mozeffer Beg was despatched with a body of troops to support Hindal, and encamped on the western bank of the Biah The Afgháns, who had passed through Suhend, and crossed the Satlej in pursuit, soon appeared on the opposite bank Askeri Mírza arriving about this time from Sambhal, all the four brothers met at Láhúr Muhammed Sultan Mírza and his sons, who, it may be remembered, had deserted from the Emperor's army before it crossed the Ganges, and had gone to Láhúr, fled from that city, as soon as Humáyun approached it, and went down to Multán † When the imperial princes held their consultations at Láhúr, it was still only the beginning of July, not two months since the grand discomfiture of Kanáuj

His parties
pursue
Humáyun
across the
Satlej

Rebl I 1
July 5

When Humáyun resolved to bend his flight towards the Penjáb, he had cherished a hope that Kámrán might still receive him cordially, and acknowledge and submit to him as his sovereign lord, or at least employ the whole force of his extensive dominions in repelling and humbling the Afgháns He was disappointed in all these hopes Kámrán was much more his rival than his subject, or even his ally The Emperor was received with external honours, and suspicion that could not be disguised At Láhúr he found nothing pre-

Selfish conduct of
Kámrán.

* Called also Gandwal, or Goindwal

† Akbernama, f 47, Jouher, c. 6, Tabakat-e Akberi, f 151, Tar Niz f 188, Nisabnama-Afgh ff 93, 94 Shems ed-din

Muhammed, the fortunate soldier who assisted Humáyun in mounting the banks of the Ganges at Kanáuj, also came to Láhúr, and was gratefully welcomed by the Emperor

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pared to meet the common enemy. The conduct of Kámran at this crisis was unkind to his brother, and ruinous to the family. His situation was certainly very trying. He was placed between two dangers, and hardly knew whether most to dread his brother or Shír Shah. He saw that the hereditary claims of the former might be employed to wrest from him the whole of his extensive dominions, which stretched from Persian Khorásán and the Helمند, to the Satlej and Hissái-Firóza. The utmost success of the former would be confined to the conquest of the Penjáb, leaving Kábul, Ghazni, and Kandahár untouched. Hence his energies appeared to be paralysed, and he was evidently more anxious to keep under his brother Humáyun and his dreaded pretensions, than to meet and repel the Afgháns. Could the brothers have trusted each other, and combined to act as their common interest required, much might still have been effected, but there was no sympathy among them, no mutual confidence. All was suspicion, jealousy, and distrust.

Trenty
among the
Imperial
brothers

The Afgháns continued to advance. When their entrance into the Penjáb was known, the brothers, and such of the Aímírs as had followed them, or were on the spot, held many consultations, to which the most eminent of the holy men, who then flourished in that country, were invited, that they might at once add solemnity to the council by their presence, and enlighten it by their wisdom. Terms were finally agreed to, after much discussion, and a regular treaty of alliance and concord concluded between the princes, and sealed and witnessed by all the assembly. But signatures and seals were vain, where confidence and unity of purpose were wanting. Neither adversity, nor the progress of events not to be mistaken, could teach them the most obvious lessons of prudence. Each still urged on a separate project of his own. Humáyun, who had been the greatest sufferer, enforced the necessity of una-

minity, and the mischiefs of discord. But his past success and conduct were not such as to make them turn to him with much hope, as the leader of a confederacy. Kamrín Mirza, who, from the first, betrayed the general cause, and consulted only his own individual interest, was anxious chiefly for the speedy breaking up of the congress, that the princes might separate, and he himself be at liberty to proceed to Kabul. He, therefore, proposed to retreat from Láhúr, as soon as it was attacked, into the neighbouring hill-country, and he undertook to convey the families of his brothers and of their adherents into the highlands of Kabul, above the passes, where they would be safe, after which he engaged to return, and join his brothers. Humdál Mirza and Yúdgár Nasir Mirza had a plan of their own. They recommended an attack upon the fort and territory of Bliker on the Indus, after conquering which, they assumed that it would be no difficult matter to invade and subdue Gujrát, and, aided by the wealth of that kingdom, to resume operations with a powerful force, in the very heart of Hindustán. The plan of Haider Mirza was different still. His thoughts were turned towards Kashmir, which he had once already overrun, and with which he was well acquainted. He advised the princes to occupy and fortify the skirts of the hill-country between Sirhend and Sirmg, and undertook within two months to be in possession of Kashmir, whither their families could be sent as a place of safety, for which no situation could be better fitted. In support of his opinion he maintained that it would take Shih Shah at least four months to bring on to the hill-country his carriages and artillery, on which he chiefly relied, and that, should the Afgháns attempt to follow them among the mountains, their army, in a short time, would be completely ruined.*

CHAP. V

Their want
of union

* Akbernama, f. 17

BOOK IV

A D 1540

my hands in the blood of a brother, but will for ever remember the dying words of our respected parent (Báber), who said to me, 'O, Humáyun! beware! beware! Do not quarrel with your brothers, nor even form any evil intentions towards them?' These words are engraved on my heart, never to be erased."

Rejeb 1
Nov 1

Humáyun, in the exigency in which he was placed, had resolved to adopt the plan proposed by Haider Mírza, and to attempt the conquest of Kashmír. After crossing the Rávi, he marched on to the town of Hazára, which he reached in the morning. Here he was informed that Kámrán, with his troops and followers all in arms, was marching right towards him. The Emperor's followers offered to arm also to repel any aggression, but he forbade them, and waited the issue. Kámrán, on coming up, sat down beside him, when they conversed for about an hour. The Mírza said, that from the instant he had last set out for Hindustán, so incessant had been his occupations, that he had enjoyed no interval of rest, and that his followers also were quite exhausted. He, therefore, found it necessary to use his endeavours to put his affairs on a proper footing, and to recruit his force, and asked the Emperor's leave to proceed to Kábul for that purpose, promising to return as soon as that object was effected. Humáyun assented, with prayers for his safety and success, after which the brothers separated. Humáyun then continued his march, and halted about four kos further on, when he got notice that Hindal Mírza, Yádgár Mírza, and Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, had been induced by Beg Mírak to set out on their proposed attempt on Gujrát. Many of the Emperor's followers, upon this, deserted and joined them. Hindal's party marched down the Penjáb towards the Balúch country.

Kámrán
departs
for Kábul,Hindal, for
Sind and
GujrátHumáyun
meditates

Humáyun, thus abandoned by two of his brothers,

hastened forward to join his cousin, Haider Mírza*, in the projected expedition against Kashmír

It is necessary shortly to advert to the state of parties in that country. When Kámrán marched from the Penjáb for the purpose of recovering Kandahár from the Persians, it has been mentioned that he left Haider Mírza in charge of Láhúr. At that time several nobles of Kashmír, who were discontented with the reigning prince of that kingdom, waited on Haider Mírza, who had formerly commanded in Kashmír, and attempted, through his influence, to obtain from Kámrán a body of troops with which to dethrone the present ruler, and restore themselves to their country, from which they were exiled. Haider Mírza, who, from the incidents of his past life, took a lively interest in the affairs of Kashmír, entered warmly into their views, but, in spite of all his exertions, was, from various circumstances, always prevented from procuring for them the assistance they desired, while Kámrán remained at Láhúr.

Afterwards, when that prince was lying at Agra, Haider Mírza succeeded in prevailing upon him to send Bába Jujkeh, one of his officers, to attempt the adventure along with the exiled nobles. But so dilatory was the general in his motions that, before he reached the scene of action, the news of Humáyun's defeat at Chonsa arrived, an event which withdrew the attention of the Mírzas from distant expeditions, and turned it to providing for their immediate safety. The attempt on Kashmír was therefore suspended, and the exiled nobles were placed in the Noushehr and Rájwarí† territory, in the opening of the mountains between the Penjáb and Kashmír, to wait better times.

The exiles, however, never ceased from urging Haider Mírza to support their interests, and after Haider

CHAP V

an expedition to Kashmír
Recent events there

* Haider was the maternal cousin of Baber

† Rajpur

BOOK IV

A D 1540

changed Kámran's service for that of Humáyun, he had regularly communicated their letters to the Emperor, who, in his present distress, seeing nothing better to be done, agreed, with their assistance, to attempt the conquest of Kashmír. He had, therefore, sent forward Haider Mírza, with such of his troops as were willing to join in the enterprise, to Noushehr, which was the most practicable road into the mountain-circled valley, and where he could see and confer with the exiled and the discontented Kashmírian nobles. Haider was to be joined by Sekander Topchi, who had a considerable jágir in that quarter, and by his followers, and in addition to these, Khwája Kilán Beg, one of Kámran's principal Amís, was to meet them with a reinforcement. On hearing of the Khwája's arrival at Noushehr, Humáyun himself was to join them, and the expedition was to enter the hills.

Kámran
thwarts the
plans of
Humáyun

The accounts of what happened at this period of alarm are very uncertain and contradictory. It would appear, however, that Kámran Mírza, who retired by way of Bhíra, contrived to thwart the plans of Humáyun. Khwája Kilán, who probably governed the Bhíra country, had written, both to Kámran and to Humáyun, with assurances of his fidelity and attachment. On hearing of the advance of the Afgháns within thirty kos of Láhúr, and of the flight of the Emperor and Kámran towards Bhíra, he had hastened from Siálkot, where he was, to meet them at Bhíra. Humáyun, on his part, had set out for that town, eager to meet the Khwája. It was about afternoon prayers when he reached the Jelem, which was much swollen. Anxious to cross, he desired Terdi Beg to lead the way, and to spur his horse into the river. The horse swam awhile, but turned round, and could not be made to go on. Determined to force his way, Humáyun caused an elephant to be driven into the stream, and then plunged in on horseback and followed it

across. He thus crossed with forty men about evening prayers. They rode all night without stopping, and arrived next morning at the town of Bhíra. Here he found that they had been anticipated by Kámrín, who had already seized Khwaja Kilán in his house, and thus secured his services. While irritated by this sudden disappointment, and his brother's breach of faith, Jabar Kuli Korchi, an officer of his guard, offered to him to lay violent hands on Kámrín. "No," said Humáyun, among whose faults cruelty was not one. "No, I refused to slay him at Lahúr, and I will not do it here." He could not, however, remain where he was, nor could he perhaps, with safety, venture to push on to Noushehr. He resolved at once to turn back, and riding, without halt, down the banks of the river, by noon next day he reached Khusháb, where he was well received by Husain Sultan, the governor of the district.*

The Emperor, confounded and perplexed by these untoward events, renounced altogether the plan of proceeding to Kashmír, and resolved to join Hindal and Yidgún Mirza in their expedition against Bheker. Haider Mirza meanwhile, adhering to his original purpose, though deprived of the assistance of Sekander Topchi, who retired into the mountains of Sarang, as well as of Khwaja Kilán's co-operation, penetrated the mountain passes of Kashmír, and, as will hereafter be mentioned, was, on the 22d November, less than three weeks after this time, acknowledged in the capital of Kashmír, as sole ruler of the kingdom, without a battle.

Rejeb 22
Nov 22

Humáyun left Khusháb the morning after his arrival, along with the governor, who agreed to accompany him, and had proceeded about six kos, when he reached a narrow pass beyond which the road divides, one branch leading to Multán, the other to Kábul. It

Who pro-
ceeds to-
wards Sind.

* Jouher, c. 7. Compare Ak- f 188, Tabak Akberi, f 152 bernama, f 48, and Iar Nizami,

BOOK IV
A D 1510

happened that he and his brother Kámrán came to the entrance of the defile at the very same time. The Emperor wished to enter it first, but Kámrán, who now threw off the mask, refused to give way, saying he was determined to take the lead. Humáyun was much irritated, and the followers of the princes preparing to assert the right of their masters by force, the affair bore a threatening aspect, when Mir Abul-Baká, a man noted for his sanctity, who belonged to Kámrán's court, riding up to the Míza, remonstrated with him on his conduct. The Míza was brought to acquiesce, and the Emperor, passing on first, took the Multán road, after which Kámrán following, turned off for Kábul. It was observed that Kámrán was accompanied by his brother Askeri, and he was soon after joined by the restless Muhammed Sultan Míza and his sons, Ulugh and Shah Mírzas, from Multán. The family had no sooner heard of the dispersion of the Emperor and his brothers, than they resolved to attach themselves to Kámrán, and overtook him on the banks of the Indus.

After some days' march down the desert that lies between the Chenáb and the Sind, the Emperor arrived at Gul-Balúch, where he received information that Hindal and Yádgúr Násir Mírzas, who had preceded him in the same route, had been attacked and interrupted by the Balúches, a barbarous and hardy race spread over all that country, who would not suffer the Mírzas to proceed on their route. Here Humáyun halted his little force. It appears that the Mírzas, who had left Láhúr and crossed the Rávi along with the Emperor, after separating from him near Hazára, had marched down into the Multán territory. Their rangers* soon after fell in with a party of Afgháns who escorted Kázi Abdalla, the Sadí, Kámrán's envoy, to

* Keráwalan

Shir Shah. The Sadr was then probably returning chap. v
 from a secret mission to the Afghan camp and on his
 way to meet his master. They were all taken and
 brought to the camp of the Mirzas. The Afghans were
 put to death and the Kazi saved at the intercession
 of a friend*. The march of the Mirzas through the
 western desert lasted twenty days during which period
 they were subject to the greatest fatigue and to suffer-
 ing and danger of every description. The Baluches
 already occupied these wastes and were in possession
 of the few strong positions within their bounds, so that
 they were able to cut the wanderers off from water and
 provisions and so determined was the opposition which
 they made to the progress of the Mirzas that, harassed
 and in despair at the increasing difficulties which they
 daily encountered the princes were forced to retrace
 their steps and were now actually on their way back.
 The Emperor while at Gul-Bahuch, hearing a kettle-
 drum in the desert sent out to discover whence the
 sound proceeded and found that it was from the camp
 of Humdud and Yadgar which was pitched only two or
 three kos off. He sent forward the reverend Mir Abul-
 Baki who had left Kaurin and joined him, after the
 occurrence at the defile. The holy man who had au-
 thority to invite the Mirzas to join the Emperor, was
 successful in his mission, and brought them back with
 their followers, after which, both the little bands,
 having once more united, advanced in conjunction on
 their march.

Humdud re-
 joins him
 at Gul-
 Bahuch

Before the Emperor, attended by the Mirzas, set out
 from Gul-Bahuch, an alarming report reached them,
 that Khawas Khan the Afghan general, had been sent
 in pursuit of the Emperor, and was only twenty kos
 distant. Humayun prepared for battle, few as his
 numbers comparatively were, but was soon relieved by

BOOK IV

A D 1540

intelligence that Khowás Khan had halted, and seemed to have abandoned the pursuit. That distinguished officer, having pushed on to Multán, finding his enemy totally dispersed, and being unable to get any intelligence of the Emperor or the Mírzas, had retired for the purpose of rejoining the main body of the Afghán army. The belief of his vicinity, however, quickened the movements of the Emperor's army, who hastened along once more on their dreary and painful route towards Uch, over against which town, after many sufferings from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, they at length halted, on the banks of the Chenáb, which, after receiving the waters of the Satlej and Biah, is known by the name of the Gára.

End of
Shábán
End of
December

They pass
the terri-
tories of
Bakhshui
Langa.

When Humáyun approached the territories of Bakhshui Langa, who was one of the great chieftains of the country, and whose tribe, in times not long past, had given sovereigns to Multán, he was anxious to avert opposition in passing through his country, and especially in crossing the Gára. For that purpose, he sent forward a mission, who bore a firmán conferring on the Langa the high title of Khan Jehán, and a khlát, composed, among other articles, of a dress of honour, a horse-tail standard, shield and kettle-drum, with four elephants. The Emperor required the Langa, on his part, to furnish grain for the supply of the camp, and boats for crossing the river. Bakhshui, who dreaded his uninvited guests, seems to have conducted himself with great caution and prudence, did not wait on the Emperor, but sent supplies for present use, accompanied by suitable presents. He, at the same time, encouraged merchants to proceed to the suffering camp with necessities of all kinds for sale, and furnished boats by which the Emperor was enabled to pass the Gára. After accomplishing the passage of that river, near Uch, he moved down the left bank of the Indus to Bheker, the territory of which he reached in the end of January,

A D. 1541,
beginning
of January

Ramzán 28
January 26

A.D. 1541 There he encamped at the town of Lohri, on the left bank of the river, near the city and fortress of Bheker, which filled the small island in the middle of the stream, the opposite bank being occupied by the town of Sakar *

CHAP. V
and reach
Sind

Humayun for several years to come, does not re-appear on the theatre of India. He was now completely driven out of the empire left him by his father, and was not permitted to enter, even as a guest, the wide extent of dominions still enjoyed by his younger brother, and of which he was hege lord. His fortune, during the ten years that had elapsed since he mounted the throne, had been various. He had conquered the kingdoms of Malwa and of Gujrát, and had been expelled from them. He had conquered the kingdom of Bengal, and had been compelled to abandon it. These conquests, effected by the superior military skill, and the greater vigour of mind of his brave Túrki and Moghul troops, and their veteran leaders, seem to have been lost chiefly by the want of any well-combined general plan of operations. In his advance into Gujrát and Bengal, every obstacle gave way before the fury of his attack. But when in possession of the object of his ambition, he found that he had gained nothing. He totally failed in securing the fruits of his victory. No sufficient army of reserve, or of communication, supported the victorious troops. Wherever the imperial camp moved, all, at first, was conquest and glory. But as the government was essentially military, on the army all depended. any disaster to it was ruin to the government. The change of dynasty was still so recent, that a most wakeful and patient superintending policy would have

Present
state and
past career
of Hu-
mayun

* The chief authorities for these transactions are the Akbernama, ff 47—49, Jouhar, c. 7, Ferishta, vol. ii pp 90, 91, Tarikh-e-Sind, ff 151—154, Khafi Khan. The Tar Sind makes the

army reach Bheker, Ramzan 26. Yadgar Nasir Mirza led the advance of the imperial army, and perhaps arrived two days before the main body.

BOOK IV

A.D. 1541

been indispensably requisite in every quarter. The empire had really, as yet, attained no unity, and it had little of what can be called political, or civil, organization, so that the government took its colour entirely from the character of the person at its head. The want of a grand superintending mind was soon felt. There was no adequate provision for the regular administration of affairs in the provinces, no effective system of mutual support among the officers of the empire. The head of the government had not the weight of character which inspired awe or reverence. Revolt early began to appear in different quarters, and that not merely among the Afgháns, burning to recover their lost greatness, but among the chief nobles of the imperial court itself. The empire of the great Báber was in danger of falling to pieces. The discord of the brothers completed the mischief, for the leading Amírs, seeing no hopes of retrieving affairs by adhering to the Emperor, who, brave and accomplished as he was, was regarded with no confidence, had lost heart, even before they were dispersed by the last decisive discomfiture. It was not yet fifteen years since the defeat and death of Ibráhím Shah, from which event the overthrow of the Afghán, and the rise of the Tamúrian, dynasty in India may be dated. Of these fifteen years, the vigorous government of Báber occupied only five, the other ten were filled by the indolent and thoughtless misrule of his son. There had not been much time to consolidate the influence of the new race. Their power still remained entirely military, so that, when the army of the Túki monarch was dispersed, and his camp taken at Kanáuj, the authority of the family of Báber seemed to be rooted out from India for ever.

The Af-
ghán supre-
macy re-
stored in
India under
Shír Shah

Shír Shah, whose success made him the representative of the Afghán race, and whose abilities rendered him worthy of the trust, lost no time in pursuing his advantage. Though the Afgháns had been routed in

BOOK FIFTH.

HUMÁYUN IN EXILE

CHAPTER I.

HUMÁYUN'S RESIDENCE IN SIND

SECTION I

FIRST RESIDENCE IN SIND

STATE OF SIND ON THE ARRIVAL OF HUMÁYUN — CONDUCT OF SHAH HUSEIN — HUMÁYUN AT ROHRI — HIS FOLLOWERS DETACHED OVER THE COUNTRY — DISTRESS IN HIS CAMP — HE SENDS ENVOYS TO SHAH HUSEIN — WHO PROCRASTINATES, AND ATTEMPTS TO INDUCE HUMÁYUN TO LEAVE SIND — HUMÁYUN LAIS SIEGE TO BHEKER. — SCARCITY IN UPPER SIND — HUMÁYUN AT THE CAMP OF HINDAL — HIS MARRIAGE TO ARBER'S MOTHER — HE RETURNS TO HIS CAMP — INTENDED DESERTION OF HINDAL, PREVENTED BY THE EMPEROR'S CONCESSIONS — DISMISSAL OF SHAH HUSEIN'S ENVOY — HUMÁYUN ADVANCES TO SEHWÁN — DESCRIPTION OF SEHWÁN, TO WHICH HE LAIS SIEGE — APPROACH OF SHAH HUSEIN — DIFFICULTIES OF THE SIEGE, AND DESERTIONS FROM THE IMPERIAL CAMP — PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE OF BHEKER — HUMÁYUN URGES HINDAL TO ACT AGAINST SHAH HUSEIN — DEFECTION OF YÁDGÁR NÁSIR MÍRZA — SHAH HUSEIN SEIZES THE EMPEROR'S FLOTILLA — HUMÁYUN RETREATS FROM SEHWÁN WITH THE LOSS OF HIS BAGGAGE — REACHES ROHRI, AND CROSSES THE INDUS — CONDUCT OF YÁDGÁR — DISORGANIZATION OF HUMÁYUN'S FORCES — THREATENED ATTACK OF YÁDGÁR — DESPONDENCY OF HUMÁYUN, WHO RETREATS TO THE DESERT OF MÁRWÁR.

WHEN Humáyun, driven first from Hindustán, and afterwards from the Penjáb, resolved to try his fortune on the Lower Indus, he had not long left Uch, in his

disastrous flight before he reached the dominions of Shah Husein Mirza the ruler of Sind. That prince, though he had been forced to relinquish Multan, after having conquered it from the Langas, as has been mentioned, was still the undisputed ruler of Upper and Lower Sind or of Bhukar and Latta, and his dominions extended along the Indus, from the sea nearly to Uch. To the east of the Indus, the country, wherever the waters of that river or its branches were found, was rich and seems to have been fairly peopled. The more desert portions as far as the borders of the Rajput states were inhabited by various tribes, chiefly Baluchies. On the west of the river and above Latta the Lakki hills and the Baluch mountains enclosed Schwan, Baghban, and Dadur with the present Shikarpur, all of which acknowledged Shah Husein as their prince. Though he had professed to be dependent on Baber, the dependence was little more than nominal, and he governed his dominions uncontrolled, as an absolute sovereign.

CHAP. I
SECT. 1

Sind on the
arrival of
Humáyun

Shah Husein was a man of great talent and sagacity, and the events that had been recently passing in Hindustan did not escape his attention. When Humáyun was at the height of his power, and had overrun Gujrat, Husein had sent Mir Anka Arghun, as his ambassador, to congratulate the Emperor on his conquests. The ambassador, who cast a keen eye on what was passing around him, reported to his master that such was the negligence of Humáyun, and such the arrogance of his officers, that it was impossible that affairs could continue long to go on, as they were doing *. Events justified the prediction. The defeat of Humáyun, however, and more especially his subsequent expulsion from his Indian dominions, filled Shah Husein with uneasy apprehensions, as he had just reason to look for a visit

Conduct of
Shah
Husein

* Lar Sind, f 152

BOOK V
A D 1541

of at least some portion of the fugitives. He had committed the charge of Upper Sind, and of the island fortress of Bheker, to Sultan Mahmúd Bhekeri, with instructions, if invaded, to lay waste the country before the invaders, to leave them nothing but a desert on every side, and to defend himself in his castle to the last extremity. As Humáyun advanced, these orders were punctually executed. On both sides of the river, from Uch to Bheker, and, at a later time, from Bheker nearly to Schwán, the cattle were driven away, the forage or grain removed or burnt, the inhabitants compelled to migrate, and the villages destroyed.

Humáyun
at Rohri
Beginning
of Ramzán
Ramzán
28 January
26

Humáyun left Uch about the beginning of January, A D 1541, and on the 26th of the same month, in spite of the difficulties which he encountered, reached Lohri, and was waited upon by some individuals of the Darícha and Sefíamí tribes, who had remained in the town. Next day he moved to the Mírza's College, and the day after to the delightful garden, or Chárbágh, of Báberlú, which he made his head quarters while he remained in that vicinity.

Lohri, or Rohri*, is situated on a high flint rock on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to the celebrated fort of Bheker, which rises near it from a rocky island in the centre of the river. This island had, some years before, been strongly fortified by Shah Husein, and more recently had been supplied, not only with a strong garrison, but with provisions and warlike stores sufficient to enable it to maintain a long siege. "The island fortress of Bheker," says a late traveller†, "is built upon an oval flint rock, three quarters of a mile in circumference, which divides a stream eight hundred yards in width. The fort itself is strongly built, but it is overlooked by the bank, upon which stands the town

* The older writers in general call this town Lohri, in modern times it is always called Rohri. † Conolly's *Overland Journey*, vol. ii. p. 260.

of Rohri. It commands the river, and all boats, that pass up and down the river, pay a toll." Still farther to secure his position, Sultan Mahmúd had ordered all the boats and other craft on the river to be seized, and moored under the walls of the fort. The gardens at which Humáyun encamped were about four miles from Rohri, and had been formed and ornamented at great expense, with all the skill and taste of the age. He and his household occupied the palace, with the garden in which it was situated, his chief nobles took possession of the rich houses that had been built by the Aghni chiefs in the immediate vicinity, while the rest of the troops were placed in the neighbourhood, and in the grounds, all the way to the town itself, where they gladly enjoyed some repose after their long sufferings.*

CHAP. I
SECT. I

But the life of Humáyun was not doomed to be one of quiet. It was necessary to make provision for the support of his followers. In the course of a few days, Mírza Hindal moved with his division four or five kos farther down the river, where he halted, and soon after crossed over to the right bank. Yádgai Násir Mírza also crossed, and encamped near him. But soon after, for the purpose of extending their quarters, and securing a larger supply of provisions, Hindal marched down to Páter in the fertile province of Sehwan, and Yádgai to Darbála, the former fifty, the latter twenty kos below Rohri.

His followers detached over the country

Immediately on his arrival†, the Emperor had lost no time in calling upon Sultan Mahmúd, the governor of Bhekeri, to repair to the presence, and to deliver up the fort to the imperial officers. Sultan Mahmúd replied, that he was only a servant of Shah Husein, and that, without orders from his master, his duty would not

Distress in his camp

* Akbernama f. 49

Bed f. 179 Jouher, 29, calls these towns Pat, in the district of Suhan (Sehwan) and Bhila

† Akbernama, f. 49, Tab Akb f. 152, Tar Niz f. 188, Tar

BOOK V

A. D. 1541

He sends
envoys to
Shah Husein,who pro-
crastinates,

permit him to comply with either request. As, however, a serious scarcity already prevailed in Humáyun's camp, Sultan Mahmúd was induced to send to him, out of the provisions laid up in store in the fort, five hundred loads of grain, besides other victuals.

The answer of Sultan Mahmúd, from which he obstinately refused to depart, compelled Humáyun to refer directly to Shah Husein himself. Without delay he deputed* Mír Táher Sadr and Mír Samander, two of his confidential servants, to the Mírza, who was then at Tatta, desiring them, by every practicable means, to gain him to his purpose. He bade them represent that the Emperor's coming to Bheker had not been optional, that his object now was, not to interfere with Shah Husein in the government of Sind, but to proceed on to the conquest of Gujrát, and he called upon the Mírza to come and consult with him in person, on the best means of invading that country.

The Mírza received the envoys with every mark of honour, and even offered his Majesty the revenues of all the country† from Kalíkanda to Betura for the support of his household; but, on the grand subject of their mission, he deferred, from time to time, giving them a definitive answer, though he kept their hopes alive by the most artful representations. After a delay of some months‡, Humáyun, whose patience was exhausted, sent them instructions either to return at once, or to let him know distinctly what prospect they had of success. The envoys wrote in return, begging to be allowed to remain some little time longer, as they entertained fair hopes of bringing their negotiation to

* Jouher, c. 8, calls the envoys Keber Beg Baríli, and Mír Táher Pir-zada.

† This seems to be the territory lying north-west of the Ran. It is doubtful if it really belonged to the Mírza.

‡ They seem to have been detained upwards of six months, Tar Niz f. 189. The *Tarikh-e-Beduni* says five or six months, f. 179.

a favourable issue. But a farther time having elapsed, during which no communication whatever was received from them, and the Emperor's difficulties increasing daily, he despatched orders, commanding the envoys, in case Shah Husein refused to accompany them to the presence, to return without him.

On receiving these orders, Mír Samander, one of the envoys, prepared to return to Rohri. The Mírza, seeing that he was unable to create any farther delay, and that the Emperor's army had not been broken up by famine and disease, as he probably anticipated, now attempted to remove Humáyun from his territories in a different manner. Along with Mír Samander he sent, as his ambassador, Sheikh Mírak, a man descended of the holy Sheikh Purán, whose family was highly revered by all the Arghúns. This ambassador, who carried various presents to his Majesty, was desired to represent to him that the produce of Bheker was at all times but scanty, and, far from being adequate to support his Majesty and his troops, was hardly enough to maintain the inhabitants of the country, that, on the contrary, should he march his army to Cháchkán*, he would find a rich country, fertile and highly cultivated, which could furnish supplies of every kind, to recruit and refresh the army after its late marches and fatigue; that, if the imperial army moved to occupy that province, Shah Husein would himself be at hand to assist their operations, that Cháchkán, from its situation, was admirably suited as a *place d'armes* for an invasion of Gujrat, a kingdom which Humáyun could reduce with ease, and, aided by its wealth, gradually recover the whole of Hindustán.

and at-
tempts to
induce Hu-
máyun to quit
Sind

These plans of conquest seem to have captivated the imagination of Humáyun, who, at first, gave his assent

* Cháchkán lies east of Tatta and west of the Ran, on the eastern branch of the Indus. See James

Burnes's Narrative of a Visit to Sind, and Map. Edin 1831

BOOK V

A D 1541

to the ambassador's proposals. But his ministers viewed the matter in a different light. The country of Chách-kán, which lies to the east of Sind, was inhabited by some brave tribes, whom Shah Husein had been unable to subdue, and must be conquered by the Emperor from its present occupants. It had, indeed, rich fields and villages, and was watered by branches of the Indus, but it possessed no fortress, in which, when the army moved forward against Gujrát, the families and heavy baggage of the army could be deposited, so as to be in safety from the attacks of Shír Shah, of Shah Husein Mírza himself, or even of the neighbouring tribes. They considered the whole proposal as only an artifice of the crafty Mírza, to remove the Emperor from his territory. If Shah Husein was really as desirous as he pretended to be to serve the Emperor, why, they said, did he not give him admission into some one of his own strongholds? Mír Samander, who had studied the Mírza's character in his court, confirmed this view, by declaring that, in his opinion, Shah Husein had really no intention to join the Emperor. Humáyún having, at length, concurred in this opinion, the siege of Bheker was resolved upon, and immediately begun. When Shah Husein was told that the Emperor had laid siege to Bheker, which, as well as Sehván, he had placed in the best posture of defence, he is said to have remarked, that he felt quite at ease on that subject, for that Humáyún would not give up the delicious garden in which he dwelt, to go to watch the operations of the siege in the camp over against Bheker, and that his amírs never would take the place, a prediction which was fully verified.*

Humáyún
lays siege to
Bheker

Scarcely in
Upper Sind

From the time that the imperial camp reached Rohri, multitudes from different quarters seem to have flocked

* Akbarnama, f 49, Tab Akb 89, Jouher, 2—9, Tarih-e-Sind, ff 151, 152, Tar Niz ff 188, ff 154, 155

to join it. The contest in Hindustán had not been merely between two individuals, Humáyun and Shír Shah, it was between two different races, the Túrks and Afgháns. When the Emperor and his family were expelled, there was no longer any safety in that country for his countrymen and adherents. Some accounts make the number of persons of every age and sex, who now joined the camp, amount to two hundred thousand, which has an air of exaggeration*. The influx of a very great multitude, however, into a country not extensively fertile or well cultivated, and the measures resorted to by Shah Husein for destroying the grain, or preventing its transport to the army, joined to a bad season, soon aggravated the scarcity, which had prevailed from the first, into a famine, so that, all around Bheker, numbers began to perish of hunger†. The Emperor opened his treasury to supply the wants of his followers, but every thing speedily rose to an exorbitant price.

Humáyun had wasted much valuable time, in hopes of procuring a favourable answer from Shah Husein. His brother Hindal Mírza had repeatedly asked his permission to attack and occupy the rich province of Selhwán, but was not allowed, that no interruption might be offered to the success of the negotiation, which the Emperor had so much at heart. That obstacle being now removed, Hindal was at length authorized to reduce the district, and informed that the Emperor himself would soon visit his camp. Shah Husein, pursuing the same policy as he had done in regard to Bheker, had fortified the town of Selhwán, and now ordered the whole surrounding country to be laid waste. Humáyun, alarmed by some intimations that

Humáyun
at the camp
of Hindal

* Tar Sind, f 156

† A single loaf is said to have
cost a mithkal

BOOK V
A D 1541

His marriage to
Akber's mother

time the gardens of Báberlú, in which he had now spent five or six months, and leaving his army to continue the blockade of Bheker, proceeded by Dárbila, where he visited the camp of his cousin, Yádgár Násir Mírza, and stayed two days. Three days afterwards he reached Páter, which lies about twenty miles west of the Indus, and was met by his brother Hindal.

This visit to Páter is chiefly remarkable for Humáyun's marriage at that place to the mother of the illustrious Akber. During the festivities that attended the Emperor's arrival, Hindal's mother, Dildár Begum, gave a grand entertainment, to which all the ladies of the court were invited, and among them was Hamída, then only fourteen, the daughter of Sheikh Alí Akber Jámí, Hindal's preceptor. Humáyun, captivated with her appearance, inquired if she was yet betrothed, and being told that she had been promised, but that the ceremony of betrothment had not yet taken place, "Then," said the Emperor, "I will marry her." Hindal, much offended, observed to his brother, that he had supposed that his Majesty's visit to Páter had been to do him honour, and not to look out for a young bride, but that, if the Emperor persisted in doing any thing so unbecoming, he must quit his Majesty's service. Dildár Begum, who overheard this altercation, interposed, reproved her son, and attempted to settle the dispute. But, as Hindal refused to apologise for the unseemly language he had used, Humáyun left the house in high displeasure, and went on board of a boat. Dildár, however, followed the Emperor, prevailed upon him to return back, made up the quarrel between the brothers, and next day gave a nuptial banquet, when the young lady* was married, and delivered to the Emperor, with

Early in
A H 948,
in the
summer of
A D 1541

* Hamída was of the family of Zihndeh-fíl Ahmed Jámí, a celebrated saint, Kholaset-ul-Towárikh, f 261

Her style after her marriage was Hazret Mariam-makáni, Hamída Banu Begum, Tar Niz f 189

her blessing A few days after this event, Hindal's camp having become unhealthy, and a great mortality prevailing, Humáyun left it with his suite, and proceeded to the Indus, where he embarked, and sailed up the river to Bheker *

CHAP. I.
SECT. I

He returns
to his camp

He found his army in great distress, but the evil did not terminate there The signs of ruin and desolation which appeared on every side, joined to the recent quarrel, determined Hindal, who had long ceased to serve his brother with much zeal, to come to the resolution of separating from him For some time past Hindal Mirza had been urged by Kerácha Khan, Kám-rán's governor of Kandahár, to repair to that capital, and to assume the sovereignty in the kingdom † In these views he was encouraged by Yádgár Násir Mirza, his cousin and brother-in-law, his great adviser, who agreed to follow him in the adventure Accordingly, Hindal having collected all his force, decamped, and took the road to Kandahár, at the same time writing to Yádgár that he would wait for him on the route, and entreating him to lose no time in forming a junction

Intended
desertion of
Hindal,

The news of this movement of Hindal, with information of the designs of Yádgár, reached Humáyun on the 8th of September 1541, and led him to apprehend the total ruin of his affairs He hurried, in alarm, to the house of Mír Abul Baká, his intimate friend, a man of science, and of great weight and influence, both from his personal character, and as being descended of a holy family, and, after a long conference, despatched him to use his endeavours to bring to an accommodation Yádgár Násir, who was at that moment encamped

Jemádl I
17 Sept. 8.

* Tar Niz f 189, Jouher, c. 9, Tar Sind, ff 156, 157

† Nizam-ed-din Ahmed, the author of the Tabakut-e Akberi, f 152, represents Humáyun's visit to Pater

as having for its object to prevent Hindal from accepting Kerachá's offers, of which the Emperor had obtained notice

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prevented
by the Em-
peror's con-
cessions

Jemádi I
18

Jemádi I.
19 Sept 10

Sept. 17

Dismissal of
Shah Hu-
sein's envoy

about ten kos off, on the opposite bank of the river.*
Abul Baká was successful, and concluded a treaty with
the Mírza, who agreed to recross the river, and wait
upon Humáyun, to remain steady to his interests,
and, thenceforward, to do him faithful and active service
The return he was to receive, for thus adhering to his
allegiance, shows the difficulties to which Humáyun was
reduced, when the Emperor reached Kábul, he was to
give up to Yádgár, Ghazni, Chirkh, and the district of
Lohger, territories which Báber had assigned to the
Mírza's mother, for her support, and, when Hindustán
was once again recovered, one third of it was to be
Hindal's portion. Next day the Mír, having completed
his mission, was crossing the river on his way back
to Rohri, when the Bheker men†, informed of his
mission, and desirous to intercept him, sent out a
vessel manned with a strong party, who discharged
showers of arrows into his boat The Mír received
several mortal wounds, of which he expired on the
following day Humáyun was deeply affected by this
misfortune, and gave loud vent to his sorrow, declaring
that neither the ingratitude of his brothers, nor the
treachery of his adherents, nor any of the numerous
calamities that had assailed him, had ever unmanned
him so much as the loss of this faithful friend Yádgár
Násir Mírza crossed the river about a week after, and
having ratified the agreement, returned back to his
camp

At the same time Humáyun dismissed Sheikh Mírak,
Shah Husein's envoy, with directions to inform his
master that the Emperor agreed to all his proposals,
but expected that he would evince his duty and alle-
giance, by repairing to the presence‡, a test to which,

* Tar Bed f 179

† They are said to have been
Doulat-shahis and Barghdáis

‡ Akbernáma, f 49, Tab Ak-

ber, f 152, Tar Niz f 189,
Tarikh-e Sind, ff 157, 158, Jouher,
p 30, Tar Bed ff 178, 179

in spite of numerous promises, the wary Aīghīn had no intention of submitting

CHAP. I
SECT. I

The Emperor's affairs were now in such a situation that his ruin seemed inevitable, unless something decisive could be achieved, and nothing appeared so likely to afford relief as an attack on Tatta. Leaving Yadgar Nāsir in the government of Upper Sind, therefore, with directions to prosecute the blockade of Bliker, Humayun proceeded down the river about the end of September. He had not advanced far, when numbers of his people left him, and went to the camp of Yadgar, who showed no disposition to send them back. Humayun, however, held on in his course along the Indus, and on the 6th of November reached the vicinity of Schwan.

Humayun
advances to
Schwan

Jumadi II
1 Sept. 22

Rajab 17,
Nov. 6

The province of Schwan, which by historians is often called also Siwa and Siwistan, is bounded on the east by the Indus, on the west by the Baluch mountains, and on the south by the Lakki range, which runs in upon the Indus. It is watered in its whole extent by a branch of that river, called the Aral, which comes down to it from Laikhan. Canals from this branch water the fields, intersecting the country in all directions, while, on the west, many streams descend from the hills. It is consequently a well watered, fertile, and prosperous little province. The town of Schwan, which also, like the province, is often called Siwi and Siwistan, stands on a rising ground, close to the Lakki hills, on the banks of the Aral, somewhat above where it rejoins the Indus. It is commanded by a castle, built on an artificial mound of earth about sixty feet high, surrounded by a strong brick wall that rises from the level of the ground below. The Lakki hills, which exclude the refreshing breezes from the ocean, render the climate extremely sultry.

Description
of Schwan

When Humayun arrived near Schwan, a party of his

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to which he
lays a siege

troops attacked a body of the enemy, who had issued from the fort, defeated them, and drove them back within the walls. Flushed with success, the victors came on board of the Emperor's ship, and represented to him that it would be an easy matter to take the town, which would give them the command of all the surrounding country. With too great facility he entered into their views, suspending the march against Tatta, and immediately laid siege to Schwán. He probably imagined that it would occasion a delay of but a few days, but here Shah Husein had pursued the same wise policy as elsewhere. He had placed a strong garrison, and a number of his ablest officers, in the fort. The country around was reduced to a waste, and the inhabitants and cattle driven away. Even before the Emperor's arrival, the garrison had unsparingly destroyed all the gardens, garden-houses and other buildings, in the suburbs or near the place. Batteries were, however, constructed by the invaders, and operations begun and carried on with such vigour that the garrison began to be straitened.*

Approach of
Shah Husein

Mirza Shah Husein, who had watched the danger as it approached his capital, thought it now time to commence active operations, and marched from Tatta to Sen †, a town on the right bank of the river, not far from the imperial camp, where he entrenched himself and collected a flotilla of ships and boats. He nominated Mir Alíka Arghún, a tribesman of his own, to the command of Schwán, and ordered him to proceed to strengthen the garrison. Mir Alíka, seizing a favourable opportunity, passed with his men through the camp of the besiegers, near the bazár, and was not discovered to be an enemy till he had safely entered the place. Humáyun upon this ordered a mine to be run,

Difficulties
of the siege

* Akbarnáma and Tar Nizami, and Jouher, as above

† Burnes speaks of Sen as a town

having at present a population of about 2000 Burnes, i p 250

and approaches made with more vigour than ever * In a short time the mine being fired, a portion of the wall was thrown down, but to the disappointment of the besiegers, as they were preparing to mount the breach, it was found that a new wall had been run up behind it. Shah Husain meanwhile completely hindered all provisions from reaching the imperial camp, either by the river or by land. Parties of his troops ranged the country on every side, and want, despondency, and discomfiture seemed everywhere to attend the invaders. They found the Arghuns brave, and well equipped, and plentifully supplied with all the munitions of war, while their own store of gunpowder began to fail, and they were unable to command the implements necessary for carrying on a siege which, contrary to their expectation, was protracted for some months. To add to their misery, the country was overflowed as the river rose, and disease began to rage. The soldiers, who were without bread, were supported chiefly on the flesh of the camp cattle which they were forced to kill in order to supply their necessities, but, seeing no end to their sufferings, they lost heart, and deserted in numbers. Such was the pressure of misery, that their example was gradually followed by several officers, and, ere long, not a few even of the more eminent of the nobles absconded, among whom Mir Taher is specified, some of them joining Shah Husain, who gave them a favourable reception, while others found their way back to Blicher to Yadgâr Nâsh Muza, whom they instigated to set out without delay to Kandahar, representing affairs in Sind as utterly desperate.

CHAP. I
SECT. I

Desertions
from the
Imperial
camp

Some time before matters had reached this pass, one Ali Beg Jelâr, an old Turki noble, had offered, if allowed only five hundred horse, to fall upon Shah Husain by a forced march, and surprise him where he lay, con-

* Akbernama, f 50, Tab Akb f 153, Tar Hind, f 159

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Progress of
the siege of
Bheker

fidant that by such an attack he could discomfit his army But daring enterprises do not suit dispirited troops, and the Emperor found none of his chiefs disposed to join in the adventure

Yádgár Násir Mírza, when left to continue the blockade of Bheker, had crossed over from the right bank of the river, and taken up his quarters in Rohri The harvest that year suffered from the severity of the season, and from the ravages of hostile troops, yet his army had increased in strength The fort of Bheker, as we have seen, is placed on an island in the Indus, where it occupies a very picturesque and a very important situation It has opposite to it the town of Rohri, on the left bank of the river, and what is now the town of Sakar on the right bank The river, which is here eight hundred yards wide, rolls past the island in two streams, the one four hundred, the other three hundred-and-fifty yards broad "The waters lash the rocks which confine them, with noise and violence" "The town of Rori, which faces Bakkar, stands on a precipice of flint forty feet high, and some of its houses, which are lofty, overhang the Indus The inhabitants of these can draw up water from their windows, but a road cut in the rock supplies the citizens with this necessary of life, without risking their lives The opposite bank of Sakkar is not precipitous like that of Rori" * The garrison of Bheker, who were not disposed to be cooped up without making some active efforts to annoy the besiegers, made two different sallies upon Yádgár Násir Mírza, and twice surprised and cut off a number of his troops A third time they landed from their boats, but were met by the Mírza's men, and a regular action ensued in the sandy plain by the river side, not far from the town The advantage remained with the besiegers Three or four hundred of the assailants were left dead

* Burnes's Travels, vol 1 p 62, 63

on the field, some were driven into the river, where they perished, while others succeeded in reaching their boats, and regained the fort. This repulse put an end to these sallies.*

When Humáyun found that his difficulties were increasing, and that he was hemmed in on every side by Shah Husein's operations, he had written to Hindal, earnestly entreating him to make a diversion in his favour, by marching down towards that prince, who would not dare to face him in the field, he added, that he was himself prevented from making such a movement by the certainty that the fort, during his absence, would receive all manner of supplies, so that the whole labour of the siege would be thrown away. In consequence of this demand, Yádgár despatched a trifling body of 150 horse, under Teidi Beg, to his assistance. But it was too late for such a force to be of any service.

Yádgau Násir Míza had, before this, begun to play a double part. Shah Husein, who was no stranger to his ambitious views, seized upon the present crisis, when the affairs of Humáyun were depressed, and those of Yádgár in some degree prosperous, as holding out a favourable opportunity for withdrawing him from his allegiance to his sovereign. He had for some time engaged Yádgár in a private correspondence, and now deputed Bába-kuli, his seal-bearer, to complete the negotiation. Shah Husein offered to acknowledge Yádgár as Emperor, to read the khutba in his name, to give him his daughter in marriage, with all his treasure, which was supposed to be very great, and, to complete the whole, the succession to the throne of Sind, as her dower. It was artfully represented to the Míza, that though Shah Husein, who was now aged, had no near relation left to soothe and comfort his de-

CHAP. I
SECRET

Humáyun
urges Hindal to act
against
Shah Husein

Defection of
Yádgau
Násir
Míza

* Akbernāma, ff 49, 50, Tab Akb f 153, Tar Sind, f 158

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clining years, he was not, however, disposed to resign the reins of government while he lived but that it was not necessary for Yádgár to wait the uncertain period of his death, before he ascended a throne that, with the assistance of his father-in-law, he might easily conquer Gujrát, of which he should be put in immediate possession while the whole territory of Tatta would fall to him in the course of nature, on the demise of the Mírza. Yádgár's constancy was not proof against these magnificent offers, and he joyfully acceded to the conditions proposed to him But as he was not yet ready openly to declare himself, and as it was of consequence to amuse the Emperor, he sent forward his camp equipage one march from Rohri, as if he were preparing instantly to set out to join him

Meanwhile, Humáyun, whose difficulties were daily increasing, despatched Abdal Ghafúr, an officer of his household *, to hasten Yádgár Mírza's motions But the Mírza, having learned from the envoy the disabled state of the Emperor's army, and believing that he had now nothing to dread from his resentment, ordered the tents back to the city It was at this crisis that, at the desire of the Arghún prince, he seized a ship that was on its way down the river, loaded with grain and provisions for the supply of the famished camp, and delivered it into the hands of Shah Husein, who put the crew to death

Shah Husein seizes the Emperor's flotilla.

Shah Husein, relieved from the fear of any trouble some diversion, by his understanding with Yádgár Mírza, was now enabled to bend his undivided force against the Emperor and news soon reached the camp of Humáyun, that the Arghún was on his way up the river with a fleet of boats, in which was embarked a large body of troops, for the purpose of cutting off the Emperor's retreat This intelligence was speedily followed by the astounding information, that the enemy

Zikádeh 17
March 3
A. D. 1542

* He was Mir-Mál

had seized by surprise the whole of the Emperor's fleet which lay close by the camp, and contained the scanty provision of stores still left for the supply of the army, and so suddenly had this been effected, that some females who were on board, had only time to make their escape, half naked, into the camp. The siege was immediately raised, and the army retreated, or rather fled with precipitation, towards Bheker, leaving their whole tents, camp equipage, and baggage behind*.

CHAP I
SECT I

Humáyun
retreats
from Seh-
wán with
the loss of
his baggage.

A short time before these events, an ambassador who had been sent by Shah Husein to the Emperor, having been plundered by some persons belonging to the camp, Humáyun now sent Monaim Beg, an officer of rank, to offer explanations, and at the same time to urge Shah Husein to cease from the pursuit, and to show some sympathy to his sovereign in distress. But the Arghún, who was highly irritated, refused to admit the envoy into his presence, asking what benefits the Emperor had ever conferred on him or his family, that he should now mind his distress. Meanwhile, the Emperor continued his retreat, which was hurried and disorderly, every one thinking only of himself, or his own safety. Many fell behind, and were slaughtered by the pursuing enemy, others deserted, so that, by the time the Emperor came opposite to Bheker, few of his followers remained with him.

Here a new difficulty occurred. Humáyun had sent on expresses before him, to desire Yádgár Násir to have boats in readiness to transport his troops, when they arrived, across the river, to Rohri. But, on his arrival,

reaches
Rohri.

* Akbernáma, f 50, Tar Sind, f 160, Jouber, c 9. The Tabakat-e Akberi, f 158, Tar Niz f 190, says that the siege lasted seven months. If the dates are correct, it could have lasted only four. The Tar Bed f 179 makes the siege last eighty days. The waters,

however, generally rise in the end of April, from the melting of the snows in the mountains. (See Burnes.) The account in the text supposes that they rose in February, so that the Tabakat is probably correct, in which case the siege was raised in the course of April.

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A D 1542

no boats were to be found Yádgár had sent privately to invite the Arghúns to come by night, and seize all the boats near Bheker, which they had done To obviate the difficulty and danger of attempting a passage across to the left bank, with the imperfect and uncertain means that he could hastily command, his chief officers advised Humáyun at once to turn off for Kandaháú, but he declared that nothing but dire necessity would induce him to approach his undutiful and unfriendly brothers, or take refuge in their territories He despatched a party under Roushen Beg, with orders to drive in all cows and buffaloes from the villages for ten or twelve kos around, and of their skins to construct rafts and vessels for crossing the river These orders were speedily obeyed, and in addition to the conveyances which they afforded, a few boats, which had been sunk in the Indus, were pointed out by two neighbouring zemíndárs, and raised These operations detained Humáyun on the right bank for several days All this while, Shah Husein's fleet was known to be advancing upwards, but, fortunately for the fugitives, the course of the Indus below Bheker is extremely tortuous, and, from the rapidity of the current, the progress of vessels ascending is proportionally slow

Before the rafts could be properly constructed, on the inflated skins of the cattle that had been slain, Shah Husein Mírza had arrived within two kos of the Emperor's shattered party Numbers of the first detachment that crossed over, fell into the hands of the enemy, who took most of their rafts This added to the confusion and alarm The Emperor's followers found difficulty in crossing Terdí Beg had taken possession of a boat that was lying at the ghát, or creek, on the river side, to convey his people over One of the Emperor's Ishek-Aghas, or chamberlains, coming up, desired him to quit the boat, and clear it of his goods,

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A D 1542

conduct The Mírza still continued his secret correspondence with Shah Husein, who insisted that he should give up the two zemíndárs, who had pointed out the boats, in which the Emperor crossed. These men, getting some intimation of their danger, fled to Humáyun's camp. Yádgár requested him to deliver them up, under pretence that he had to settle accounts with them for the revenue of their lands, which lay in his district, and were in arrear. The Emperor sent them with a guard, who had orders to bring them back, as soon as their accounts were arranged. But no sooner had they arrived, than Yádgár took them by force from the guards, and delivered them up to Shah Husein *. Soon after this outrage, he openly assumed a hostile countenance, and never afterwards returned to his allegiance.

Humáyun, who by the late events was deprived of such stores as he had previously possessed, and who was in a country where famine raged, procured, with much difficulty, from Yádgár Násir a scanty supply of grain, which was soon consumed. In this exigency, compelled by want, he sent an application by Terdí Beg and some others of his chief officers, to Sultan Mahmúd Bhekeri, the enemy whom he was besieging. Mahmúd received the deputation with every honour, presented them with dresses, and gave each of them a sum of money, and a portion of grain. He then called a council, at which various opinions were given, but, in conclusion, he sent the Emperor three hundred loads of grain for the use of his household.

Disorganization of Humáyun's force

But this small provision was soon expended. The camp followers and people of the bazar, seeing this universal distress, gradually went off, and such of Humáyun's troops as did not desert to Yádgár were com-

* Tab Akb f 154, Tar Niz f 190. The zemíndárs appear, in the first instance, to have been sent into the castle of Bheker.

pelled, from the increasing destitution, to separate, and scatter themselves in small parties over the country, in every direction, in search of food, in which disorganized state they were attacked, and numbers of them put to death by the inhabitants. Wherever they had any opportunity of coming to action, they uniformly maintained their superiority, but with hunger and want it was impossible to contend, and the brave veterans whitened the plains of Bheker with their bones *. Some of them were fortunate enough to make good their way to the surrounding countries, and even the highest of the Emperor's officers, such as Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, went over to Yádgár, who spared neither promises nor threats to induce Humáyun's remaining followers to abandon their master. When he saw them reduced to the last extremity, he sent them an express and open invitation to desert, adding that, as for such as remained in the camp till morning, their "blood must be on their own heads."

"After this," says the narrative of the ever-bearer, "news was brought that Fazáel Beg (who had deserted the day before), intended to seduce his brother Monaim Beg to leave the camp. The Emperor, hearing of this, said, 'Let him come, and he shall meet with his deserts.' Having, however, heard that Monaim Beg and Terdi Beg wished to escape, the Emperor sat up the whole night, watching, while these two attended him. When it was morning, his Majesty went to the bath, and desired them to wait his return. No sooner was he gone than the two Beks ran to their horses. Roushen Beg, the wardrobe-keeper†, hastened to inform the Emperor that they were going away. He was sent to call them back, but they did not mind him, so that the Emperor was himself compelled to run and recall them. Seeing no remedy, they came back. Monaim

* Tar Sind, f 160

† Toshak Begi

BOOK V

A. D. 1542
Threatened
attack of
Yádgár

Beg was ordered into custody, and Terdi Beg found himself obliged to remain"*

It was impossible for Humáyun long to exist under such painful circumstances. He daily discovered new instances of Yádgár's hostility, but such were the difficulties of his situation, that his only chance of accomplishing any thing depended on the junction of the Mírza's forces with his own few and exhausted followers. The Mírza, however, who cherished very different views, had no disposition to meet his wishes. He even, at one time, issued out of Rohri, of which he retained possession, intending to attack the imperial camp, and thus finish the contest at one blow. Humáyun no sooner heard of his hostile approach than he drew up his remaining adherents, resolved to sell his life dear. In the meanwhile, however, Háshem Beg, a trusty and faithful officer of the Mírza, over whom he had great influence, hearing of his intentions, galloped out of the town after him, seized the reins of his horse, reproaching him with his guilty and impolitic proceedings, and succeeded in making him return back to Rohri*.

Despondency of
Humáyun

Worn out with fatigue, disappointment, and uncertainty, and deprived even of hope, the mind of Humáyun began to sink under the pressure, and he spoke of making the pilgrimage of Mekka, and of adopting a life of piety and seclusion. From this purpose he was diverted by the persuasions and entreaties of the few servants who had followed him in all his changes of fortune, who still continued attached to him, and even now clung to the hope of gaining rank and riches through his means. With tears they entreated him to resign all such thoughts, and to make one more attempt

* Jouher's Mem c 9 See also
Tab Akb f 154, and Tar Bed
f 180

† Tabak Akberi, f 154

to bring back fortune to his banners, by marching into the territories of Maldeo, the Rái of Júdpúr or Múrwár

Maldeo was, at this time, the most powerful of all the Rájpút sovereigns. He was possessed of great wealth and a very large army, and had added to his hereditary dominions by extending his sway over several of the neighbouring states. He had repeatedly sent to invite Humáyun into his country*, professing the most devoted attachment, and offering to support his cause with an army of twenty thousand Rájpúts. The Emperor's followers flattered him with the belief that Maldeo would be delighted at such an opportunity of meriting his Majesty's gratitude, and that his affairs might still take a favourable turn. Yielding to their entreaties, and indeed at a loss what else to do, he finally determined to follow their advice. He made a last effort, however, to work upon Yádgár to join him, but found all his endeavours ineffectual. With a heavy heart, he, therefore, resolved to abandon Sind, and to try his fortune in the deserts of Rájpútána †

CHAP. I
SECT. I

1's retreats
to the
Desert of
Múrwár

* The Tarikh-e Sind states that at this very time, Humayun received a letter of invitation from Maldeo himself, f 161, and Nizam ed din affirms that he promised to assist him in the conquest of Hindustan, Tar Niz f 191, and Tar Bed f 180

† For the later transactions in Sind, see Akbernáma, f 50. Tabakat-e Akbari, ff 153, 154, Tar Nizami, ff 189—192, Tar Sind, ff 157—161, Tar Bedauni, f 179, 180, Kholáset ul Towárikh, f 261, Jouher s 8th and 9th chapters

CHAPTER I

HUMÁYUN'S RESIDENCE IN SIND

SECTION II.

HUMÁYUN IN THE DESERTS OF MÁRWÁR AND IN SIND, A
SECOND TIME

MARCH OF HUMÁYUN FROM BHEKER TO UCH — OBSTRUCTED BY BAKHSHUI LANGA. — MARCH TO DERÁWÁL — TO THE BIKANÉR AND JUDPÚR TERRITORY — MALDEO AND HUMÁYUN SEND SPIES TO EACH OTHER'S HEAD-QUARTERS — INSINCERITY OF MALDEO — RETREAT OF HUMÁYUN — A COVERING PARTY FORMED, AND SUCCESSFUL SKIRMISH OF CAVALRY — HOSTILE EMBASSY FROM JESELMÍR. — HUMÁYUN ARRIVES AT THAT TOWN — PROCEEDS TO THE GREATER DESERT — EXTREME WANT OF WATER. — SECOND EMBASSY FROM JESELMÍR. — CONTINUED DISTRESS FOR WATER — THEY REACH AMERKOT — FRIENDLY CONDUCT OF THE RÁNA — ANECDOTES OF HUMÁYUN — STAY AT AMERKOT — RECENT EVENTS IN SIND, AND PROCEEDINGS OF SHAH HUSEIN — FLIGHT OF YÁDGÁR MÍRZA TO KANDAHÁR — RESOLUTION OF HUMÁYUN TO INVADE JÚN — BIRTH OF AKBER. — DESCRIPTION OF JÚN — HUMÁYUN'S STAY THERE — INCREASE OF HIS FORCE — APPROACH OF SHAH HUSEIN — DISGUST AND DEFECTION OF THE HINDU ALLIES OF HUMÁYUN — SHAH HUSEIN ATTACKS HIM UNSUCCESSFULLY — BIRAM KHAN JOINS HUMÁYUN — HIS HISTORY — RENEWED SCARCITY IN THE IMPERIAL CAMP — DESTRUCTION OF THE FORAGING DETACHMENT — SHAH HUSEIN PROPOSES TERMS — HUMÁYUN AGREES TO QUIT SIND

BOOK V

A. D. 1542.
March of
Humáyun
from Bheker
to Uch.

WHEN Humáyun found that he could no longer remain in Sind with safety, he determined to accept the invitation that had repeatedly been sent him by Maldeo, and set out, with the intention of marching to Júdpúr. But as the direct road from Bheker to that place, through the desert, was too dangerous and difficult to be at-

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afternoon, they were exposed to considerable privations before they reached Mhow where the Bheker territory ended. The same was the case after leaving that town, while they continued their route upwards, through a parched and barren tract, in which they had much to endure from want of every description, but especially from want of water. After a few days' march, however, they arrived at Uch, where they halted and spent about six weeks.

Obstructed
by Bakh-
shui Langa

The ruler of that country, *Bakhshui Langa*, on whom the Emperor, on his former passage through his dominions, had bestowed the sounding title of *Khan-Jehán*, or Lord of the World, when now called upon to wait on the Emperor, or to send provisions for the supply of the camp, little pleased with the return of his uninvited guests, not only refused to render any assistance, but offered every obstruction to the people sent out to purchase supplies, so that whatever was procured was taken by force. Such was the general distress that the Emperor's followers went out into the jungle, to gather the berries of such trees and shrubs as were in bearing, to assist in sustaining life. What was the number of persons that remained with *Humáyun* at this time, we are not informed *

March to
Ueráwal

But this state of suffering could not be supported for ever. Even the scanty supply of fruits and seeds from the forest failed, and it was necessary to move † At

directed. Other two of the quarters were sent to the imperial kitchen, and the remaining one to the lady exalted as *Maríam*, *Hamída Bánu Begum*, who at that time was seven months gone with child of *Akber*. † *Jouher*, c. 9. See *Stewart's Jouher*, pp. 35, 36, which I have altered to bring it closer to the original text.

* *Jouher*, c. 9. *Jouher* particularizes the *sanker*, or *sanger*, and the *ber* trees as chiefly supplying them with sustenance. The latter

is a wild plum. With the former I am unacquainted.

† An incident, recorded by *Jouher* as occurring at this time, more resembles the cruel and tyrannical mockery of the princes of Europe in the middle ages, towards their Jewish subjects, than the usual generosity of *Humáyun*. Those who had been sent out to bring in the stragglers, "returned, and reported that a Moghul, to whom the Emperor was in debt, had fallen down

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A D 1542

Rebl II 17
July 31
To the Bi-
kanir and
Judpur
territory

his merciful protection, and halted. He ordered the water-bags to be filled, and sent back on his own horses to afford relief to such as had fallen behind, and were perishing for thirst, and to bring them into the camp. Such as were still alive were supplied with water, and brought in. The dead they buried. This station seems to have been near Wásilpúr, in the Bikanír territory *

By the 31st of July, Humáyun had advanced within twelve kos of Bikanír. Here he was joined by some of the stragglers of his army, who had contrived to reach Bikanír, where they found the inhabitants very ill disposed towards them. As it was of the utmost consequence to ascertain the sentiments of Maldeo, Mír Samander †, in whose judgment the Emperor reposed entire confidence, was despatched to Júpúr, to Maldeo's court. Meanwhile, the camp moved on to Filúdi ‡, about thirty kos from Júpúr, where it halted, and where the troops procured an abundant supply of grain, and of every thing that could recruit them after their toils and sufferings.

Maldeo
sends spies
to the
camp

The report made by Mír Samander on his return, was by no means favourable. He said that, whatever show and professions of attachment Maldeo might have made, it was plain that they were totally insincere. About this time, a few trifling presents of fruit were sent to the camp by the Rájput prince. But new causes of suspicion were discovered. The Emperor's little party approached the capital by short stages. A merchant had arrived in the camp, and, among other articles, exhibited for sale a large and valuable diamond. This excited inquiry. The man was found to be Sangái Nagóri, one of the Maldeo's confidential officers. Humáyun, who had no doubts of the real character of the

* Akbernama f 50 Tab Alb f 154, Far Niz f 191, Jouher, c 10

† Abulfazl and Jouher both make

Mír Samander the envoy. Niz am-ed-din Ahmed says it was Atla Khan, the Farákhi Badami, Arla Khan

‡ Or Pehludi

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Retreat of
Humáyun

the Rái, and now wrote, advising the Emperor to hasten without delay out of his territory Atkeh, the Emperor's envoy to Maldeo, had been carefully watched, so as to prevent his communicating any information to his master, and was, in reality, in a sort of free custody Suspecting something wrong, however, and displeased with what he saw, he secretly left the city without taking leave, reached the camp, and confirmed the Emperor in the belief of his danger There was now no time for hesitation * The Emperor, believing that Maldeo was bent upon his destruction, commanded a retrograde movement, and resolved instantly to proceed to Amerkot, by the route of Jeselmír.

"The real intentions of Maldeo," says Abulfazl, "remain a matter of uncertainty Some contend that he was, at first, really well inclined towards the Emperor, while others are as decided that his professions of service, and his humble letters were, from the first, wholly deceitful and false" But the observations of Nízám ed-dín Ahmed, perhaps the best historian of the period, seem to afford the real explanation of his conduct When Humáyun was expelled from Hindustán, and, Shír Shah extended his conquests on every side, the Afghán and Rájpút princes were brought into a state of collision Maldeo, anxious to gain support against his powerful rival, invited Humáyun to his aid, as the most formidable enemy whom he could oppose to Shír Shah But when the Rájpút prince saw the Emperor arrive in his dominions with only a small number of followers, and they in the most destitute and miserable condition, and quite unfit to render him any succour, at the same time that Shír Shah, a body of whose troops were in the Nagór district, and threatened his frontier, had sent him ambassadors requiring him to seize and

* Akbernáma, f 51, Tabak Akberí, f 154, Tar Niz f 191, Jouher, c 10, Tar Bed f 180,

Ferishta, vol ii p 92, Kholáset-ul Towárikh, f 261

deliver up Humáyun, urged by the promises and threats of the Afghán, and looking upon the affairs of the Emperor as totally ruined, he departed from his original intentions, and altering his conduct, resolved to give him up to his mortal foe *

When the camp was once more in motion to return back, the Emperor sent out Roushen Beg and Shems-ed-dín Muhammed Atkeh, to seize and bring in some of the inhabitants of the country, to act as guides. They accordingly brought in two men † with their camels; the camels his Majesty ordered to be picketed with his own cattle, and the men to be placed in custody, and their swords taken from them. He made a Kázi, who was with him in camp, and knew their language, explain to them, that no harm was meant them, and that they would be well rewarded for acting as guides to the camp. The men remonstrated, and said that they were poor villagers, and totally ignorant of the road to Amerkot. They were, however, detained, and, as is usual enough in such cases, treated as being spies, or as men who stubbornly and perversely concealed what they knew, and they were threatened to be put to death. Driven to despair, the men contrived to free themselves from custody, snatched a dagger and a knife from two of the bystanders, and before any one was aware of danger, attacked and killed Tersún Beg, who had charge of them, and then rushing to where their own cattle were tied up, stabbed them, as well as the other animals picketed along with them, among which were a riding horse and mule of the Emperor's, and so desperately did these wretched men use their weapons, that they killed or mortally wounded a number of men, women, and horses ‡,

* Tar Nizami, f 191

† The Tabakat says that these men were spies seized in the camp, and that one of them was directed to be put to death to intimidate the

other, f 155. The Tar Bed f 180, also calls them spies.

‡ They are said to have killed seventeen living beings, men, women, and cattle.

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before the imperial attendants, who at length surrounded them, could put them to death.

This incident spread so much confusion and alarm over the camp, that several of the Emperor's immediate servants spoke of retiring, several did secretly desert, and he had some trouble in keeping the great body of his followers from dispersing. The little camp was, however, at last put in motion. As most of the Emperor's cattle had been slain*, and among the rest his riding horse, by these unfortunate men, his grooms went, and demanded several horses and camels of Terdi Beg, who gave a surly refusal. The Emperor, therefore, mounting on a camel, began his march. As soon as Nadim Koka, who was on foot, leading a horse on which his mother was riding, observed the Emperor's distress, he made his mother dismount, presented her horse to the Emperor, and seated her on the Emperor's camel.

A covering
party
formed

As the road they now took was over a loose moving sand, where no water was to be found, they endured much distress, and, to add to their sufferings, reports were constantly brought in, that Maldeo was in pursuit, and his troops close at hand. Humáyun, the better to cover his retreat, ordered Ishán Taimur Sultan, Terdi Beg, and Monaim Khan to take a party, and bring up the rear slowly and deliberately, but if the enemy came near, then to attack them without hesitation. In this manner the whole moved on, and having passed Felúdi, reached Setelmír, in the Jeselmír territory. But during the darkness of the night, the covering party lost the road, and separated from the main body, and when morning broke, a suspicious body of men was descried at a distance, following in the track† of the retiring camp.

* Jouher says, he had only two horses and a mule left.

† Tab Akb f 155, Tar Bed

consisted of three bodies of five hundred men each. He is the only writer who guesses at numbers.

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Hostile embassy from
Jeschmir

At this station two messengers, sent by the Raja of Jeschmír, met them. They complained, that the Emperor had come into his country, with an armed force uninvited, and that, though no cows were allowed to be killed within his dominions, the Emperor's people were seizing and slaughtering these sacred animals, an act most abhorrent from the religion and feelings of Hindus. They added that this could not be permitted, and that his subjects would obstruct the passage of the imperial camp, wherever it moved. A consultation was held, when it was resolved to detain the envoys without returning an answer, and, having taken a supply of water, to march forward on their dreary journey.

Humáyun
arrives at
that town
Jemádl I 1
Augt 13

They reached the neighbourhood of Jeschmír on the 13th of August. The Raja, Rái Lankern, who was little pleased with their visit, had placed a body of men to keep them off from the tank, which lay without the walls of the town. Many of Humáyun's followers had already dropped down, worn out and exhausted by thirst and fatigue, in passing over the sandy desert. But, as the rest came up, they attacked the enemy, and after a contest of some hours, drove them away, but not without considerable loss on their own part. The natives retreated into the fort.

Advancing about five kos, they came upon a village, where they found abundance of grain and water, but no inhabitants.

Proceeds to
the greater
Desert

After this, they entered a country where the oases were fewer, and the desert more dry and desolate than any they had yet passed. To add to their distress, the Rái had ordered his son, Maldeo*, to precede their march, and fill up the wells with sand, which he had done. They seem now to have gone on for three days before they met with water. At the end of their first

* The name of the Raja of Judpur, as well as of the son of the Rái of Jeschmír, was Maldeo, a circum-

stance that seems to have produced confusion in the narrative of some historians of these transactions.

with thirst, threw themselves at the same time upon it, so that the rope broke, and the vessel fell down into the well. On seeing this, the perishing expectants raised a shout of despair, and some in their agony plunged in after it. When the water at length began to be brought up, the crowds around strove and fought for it, and there was not found enough to supply them all. One well had been reserved for the imperial household, but the artisans of the court, who could not be supplied, went in a body and complained to Humáyun, that Terdi Beg was supplying his horses and camels with water from his well, while they were dying of thirst. The Emperor, riding up to the Beg, addressed him in Túrki, his native tongue, and requested that he would allow his servants to draw water for themselves for one hour, to which the Beg agreed. The distress was, however, unspeakable, many fell down and died, before they could get a drop to quench their burning thirst.

Second Embassy from
Jeselmír

At this time a son of the Rái made his appearance, bearing a white flag. When admitted to an audience, he complained that Humáyun had entered his father's dominions in a hostile manner, but assured him that, had his coming been known, the Rái would have received him with every mark of hospitality. He complained of the excesses of the Emperor's followers, and of the confinement of the two messengers. He added that, if the Emperor would halt a short time where he was, a sufficient number of bullocks and buckets should be sent, to enable him to draw up the water. By the advice of Terdi Beg, the two envoys were released.

Continued
distress for
water

Having ascertained that, at the next stage, there was only one well, the Emperor divided his little camp into three divisions, which he ordered to move forward on three successive days, so as to have the benefit of the water in turns. The first division was led by the Em-

* Tar Niz f 192, Ferishta, vol II p 95, Jouher, c 10

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SECT. II

peror attended by Iordh Beg and Ishán Tannur Sultan, the next by Momum Beg, the third by Shiekh Ali. Yet in spite of this precaution the scarcity of water was severely felt and numbers perished of thirst. We are told that, at this time, a part of the royal army, probably one of the three divisions, about mid day, reached a pool of water when the horses and camels, which for some days had had little or no water could not be restrained from rushing into it, to appease their thirst and drank to such excess, that many of them died.

The Emperor had now arrived within ten kos of Amerkot*, but the nature of his reception there was probably still uncertain. Meanwhile, protracted misery had levelled all distinctions of rank and, in some minds had destroyed even the feelings of common courtesy. The horse of Roushen Beg having broken down on the march he went and asked the Begum for the horse which he had given her. When notice of this was carried to Humayun, he alighted, sent his own horse to his wife, and after marching for some distance on foot mounted a camel belonging to the cwer department. After he had ridden in this way a couple of miles, Khaid Beg, the son of Khwaja Khulita, hearing what had occurred, rode up and presented his horse to Humayun, who continued on his course, and the same day entered Amerkot, accompanied by only seven horsemen. Most of his followers dropped in, singly or by twos and threes, in the course of the day.

They reach
Amerkot,

Jemadī I
10 Augt.
22

The Rana†, from various circumstances, was well disposed towards Humayun. As soon as the Emperor arrived, he sent his brother to wait upon him, to apologise for his not himself appearing that day, it not being a lucky one, but promising to attend him on

Friendly
conduct
of the Rana

* The Tabakat calls Amerkot a hundred kos from Latta called Rana, by the writers who speak of him

† The ruler of Amerkot is usually

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the day following Next day the Rána accordingly visited the Emperor, and explained to him his situation He said that his principality was small and barren, but that he had two thousand hoiscmen of his own tribe of Sodhas, and that to them five thousand Samícha horse of his allies could be added, all ready to follow his Majesty, and devoted, heart and hand, to his service, and that, assisted by these, the Emperor might conquer both Tatta and Bheker The Emperor thanked the Rána for his ready zeal, and gave him to understand that, though unfortunately he did not himself at that moment possess the means of fitting out and paying his allies, he did not despair of speedily falling upon a method of acquiring them

Anecdotes
of Humáy-
un

The minute details of the Emperor's conduct at this period have much in them that is curious and interesting, as exhibiting his sanguine and thoughtless temper When the Rána retired, as Humáyun possessed no change of apparel, he was compelled to undress that he might give his clothes to be washed, and, in the meanwhile, sat down in his bathing-gown A bird happened to fly into his tent Struck with its appearance, he caused the door to be shut, and the bird was taken He called for a pair of scissors, and having cut its wing, made a painter take its likeness, after which he let it off into the desert

The historians of his reign tell us, that at this time, he borrowed a sum of money from Terdí Beg and some others of his followers The mode in which this loan was effected, is not mentioned by these historians, but is described in all its particulars by his ewer-bearer with graphic simplicity, and is highly characteristic of the shifts to which Humáyun, in his difficulties, thought himself entitled to resort * When he had told the

* Abulfazl launches into an exclamation against Terdí Beg and the Amírs, whose avarice compelled him to resort to force Nizam-ed-dín Ahmed, with more moderation, merely says that Humáyun levied a

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Stay at
Amerkot.Recent
events in
SindBeginning
of Mohar-
remMobarrem
21—24Proceedings
of Shah
Husein

Humáyun remained about seven weeks at Amerkot, to recruit and refresh himself and his exhausted followers. During this time, he received every assistance from the Rána that his limited means allowed, and got some information of the transactions that had taken place in Sind, after his departure from Rohri.

We have seen that Shah Husein Mírza, after forcing the Emperor to raise the siege of Sehván, had failed in his attempt to intercept him in his retreat. As long as he had any apprehensions of Humáyun, he continued to court Yádgár Násir Mírza, and to buoy up his mind with the hopes of succeeding him in Sind, as his son-in-law, and even of placing him on the throne of Gujíát and of Delhi itself. Yádgár, lured by these promises, had treacherously renounced his allegiance to Humáyun, and, about the middle or end of April, had crossed over to Saker on the right bank of the river, and sent some of the cannon and guns belonging to his division into the fort of Bheker. Humáyun had been compelled to leave Rhori on the 7th of May, and, on the 10th, Shah Husein, having ascertained that he was really on his way to Uch, repaired to Bheker in person. The keen and sagacious, but stern and cruel, Arghún examined every department, and the condition of every thing, with his own eyes. He sharply reprehended the governor, Sultan Mahmúd Bhekeri, for the waste committed on the corn in the granaries, and especially for having employed it, to feed his own enemy. Determined to make an example, though unwilling to punish that nobleman personally, he impaled the probably innocent storekeeper before Mahmúd's gate. Malek and Umer, the two chiefs who had assisted Humáyun to cross the river, by discovering to him where some boats were sunk, and whom Yádgár had basely seized and delivered up, he commanded to be flayed alive before the

gates of Saker After Humáyun's departure, the camp followers, and men of every class, who had been unable to accompany the Emperor in his flight, scattered in consternation and despair over the surrounding country Yádgár, whose importance was destroyed by the departure of the Emperor, shared the fate of traitors who cease to be necessary, he saw every promise made to him broken, and hardly two months had elapsed after Humáyun's departure, before he was glad to flee from Sind *, and to take the road to Kandahár He arrived near that city when Kámrán was besieging Hindal, and had reduced it to extremity Yádgár accompanied Kámrán to Kábul, whence that prince despatched ambassadors to Shah Husein, to request that he would send back his sister Shehi-Bánu Begum, Yádgár's wife, with her son Mírza Sanjer The Arghún instantly complied, and sent them forward by the barren wastes and wild passes between Sind and Kandahár, with every outward mark of honour, accompanied by a number of the stragglers and others who had separated from the Emperor in Sind, and still survived in that territory But, says Abulfazl, he committed an error, intentional or not, in sending them through that desert tract, which is destitute both of water and forage, unprovided with sufficient supplies, so that numbers perished, and those who reached the town of Shál, in addition to all their other sufferings, were seized with malignant fever, by which, among others, the princess was carried off, so that, of two or three thousand persons who were in the caravan, very few survived to reach Kandahár Shah Husein, having remained near Rohri till the middle of July, and put every thing in order, went down to Sehván †, where he staid a week, to see that the

CHAP. I
SECT. II

Flight of
Yádgár
Mírza to
Kandahár

Beginning
of Rebi II.

* Jouher says, he was not allowed to leave Sind till he had paid a sháhrúkhi for every man, seven for every camel, and five for every horse that accompanied him, pro-

bably as if he had been a common traveller or merchant, Tar Sind, f 163, Jouher, c 13

† Akbernáma, f 56

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A D 1542.

breaches and damage done to the walls were properly repaired, and then went on to Sen.

Resolution
of Humáy-
un to In-
vade Jún

While Humáyun remained at Amerkot, he held consultations as to the course which it was most expedient for him to follow. It would appear that the Raja, Rána Parsád, had not been long in possession of his principality, and looked to the Emperor for assistance in maintaining himself against Jání Beg, the chief who had been dispossessed, as well as for taking revenge on Shah Husein, who had put his father to death. The Rána strongly recommended an invasion of Lower Sind, and, as the first step towards that attempt, an inroad into Jún, the inhabitants of which, being ill-affected to the Arghúns, would certainly join the invaders. The small and barren district of Amerkot was not a fit place for the lengthened residence of a prince like Humáyun. It was accordingly resolved to march towards Jún with their united forces. And the Raja, having been prevailed upon to withdraw his people from the castle of Amerkot, the Emperor, on the 11th of October, placed in it Hamída Bánu Begum and the rest of his family, with such attendants as he could spare, under the charge of Khwája Moazem, Hamída's brother, and himself set out on his expedition. Four days after, on Sunday the 15th of October, in this solitary castle, surrounded on every side by sandy deserts, Hamída Bánu Begum gave birth to a prince, who was afterwards to be the Emperor Akber, the ornament of his line and family *

Rejeb 1
Oct 11

Rejeb 5
Oct 15
Birth of
Akber

The Emperor learned the joyful tidings from Terdí Beg Khan, at the first stage, about twelve kos from Amerkot, where he was still encamped. "As soon," says one who attended him, "as the Emperor had finished his thanksgivings to God, the Amírs were introduced, and offered their congratulations. He then

called Jouher, and asked, what he had committed to his charge. Jouher answered, two hundred Sháhrúkies, a silver wristlet, and a musk-bag, adding that the two former had been restored to their owners. His Majesty inquired the reason of this, as they had been given to him to keep. Jouher said, that, in doing so, he had obeyed his Majesty's orders. On this, the Emperor ordered the musk-bag to be brought, which was done. Having broken it on a china plate, he called his nobles, and divided it among them, as the royal present in honour of his son's birth. They offered their congratulations, with prayers and good wishes for his prosperity, and that of the imperial infant. At that station they continued the rest of the day, and had such rejoicings as circumstances allowed. This event diffused its fragrance over the whole habitable world." * So unpromising were the circumstances that attended the birth of one who was to become the most magnificent Sovereign of his age.

The same day, after evening prayers, the Emperor decamped, attended by his own faithful Chaghatáús, and a number of the Amerkot Rána's men, and in five marches arrived near Jún.

The district of Jún lies to the north-west of the Ran, on the western limit of Cháchikún, near the eastern branch of the Indus, which, after traversing the desert, forms the western boundary of Kach. The territory of Jún is intersected by numerous smaller branches of the river, that divide it into many islands and districts which, at that time, were highly cultivated. It abounded with all the necessaries of life, and for the beauty of its gardens, and the excellence of its fruits and vegetable productions, excelled every other part of Sind. The nature of the ground, broken and defined by so many streams and artificial canals, joined to the beauty

Description
of Jún

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skirmish of
cavalryHumáyun
at JunIncrease of
his forces

of the inhabitants, seems long to have secured to its population the same blessings of independence that were enjoyed by their neighbours, the inhabitants of the wilder and more barren portion of Cháchkán

When Humáyun arrived in this quarter, he found Jám Beg, the former possessor of Amerkot, and a noted marauder, lying in the neighbourhood of the chief town of Jún, with a formidable body of horse. He sent forward Sheikh Ah Beg with a hundred of his old adherents, and a party of five hundred of the Rána's Sodha horse, and himself followed with his remaining troops. Sheikh Ah, naturally bold, and trusting to be supported, charged the enemy as soon as he came near them, and entirely broke and dispersed them, before the arrival of the Emperor, who ordered all the prisoners to be put to death. From the field of battle Humáyun moved on to the town of Jún*, where he pitched his tent in a large garden, beside which the zemíndárs or chiefs, who had joined him, encamped. He dug a deep trench round the whole, so as to form a respectable fortified camp. In this position he remained for nearly nine months, during which time he invited all the neighbouring Rajas, or chiefs, to join him, and, in consequence of this invitation, the Rájs from the country of the Sodhas, the Samíchas from Kach, and the tribesmen of the Jám, who formerly were rulers of Bhcker, waited upon him, so that his army at one time consisted of no less than

* When Jun was taken, two rather noted persons fell into his hands. "During the period that the Emperor besieged Schwán, there was a musqueteer in the fort, who never missed his aim. H M said, 'I hope I shall one day get hold of that fellow.' He sometimes also used to say, 'I wish I could catch the man who drew the sword from under me, half way out of the scabbard.' It happened that both of these men were in Jun, when we

took it, and having met in a búzel-shop, were boasting of their feats of bravery. Their conversation being overheard, they were seized, and brought before the Emperor, who, after inquiry, ordered the musqueteer to be put to death, but forgave the thief, and made him a handsome present." Stewart's Jouher, p 46, a little altered. Many will differ from the Emperor in his ideas of distributive justice.

fifteen or sixteen thousand horse. And here, about the beginning of December, he was joined by the infant Akber, and the whole party from Amerkot.*

As soon as Shah Husein heard of this new approach of Humayun to his dominions in one quarter, hardly six months after he had left them in another, he hastened to meet the coming danger, and soon appeared with a formidable army on the bank of the Indus that was nearest to Jinn, and pitched his camp on the opposite bank, four kos from that place.

While the two armies lay in this situation, skirmishes daily occurred. But the contest was an unequal one. Mirza Shah Husein had all the resources of his kingdom behind him, while, to Humayun, the loss of any one of his old adherents, in whom his real strength consisted, was irreparable.

The Mirza added artifice to force. He made an attempt to detach from the Emperor's interest such allies as had joined him. To the Rana of Amerkot he privately sent a complimentary and flattering message, with a dress of honour, a rich dagger, and other presents, inviting him to abandon the Emperor's interest. These the Rana carried to Humayun, who directed his ally, in proof of his contempt of the donor, to employ them in dressing up a dog, by Musulmans held to be an unclean animal, which he did. Shah Husein felt deeply hurt by the insult.

But the cause of Shah Husein was soon more effectually served by the habitual and uncontrollable arrogance of Musulmans towards Hindus of every rank. One of them, Khwaja Ghazi, insulted the Rana of Amerkot, who, meeting with no redress, left the camp in disgust with all his followers, declaring that to attempt to please Moghuls† was only labour lost. This

CHAP. I
SECT. II

End of
Shahjahan,
beginning
of Dec

Approach
of Shah
Humayun

Disgust and
defection of
the Hindu
allies of
Humayun

* Akbarnama, f 51, Tar Sind, f 161, Joulier, c 12. The Emperor's party left Amerkot, Shahjahan 11 (Nov. 20)

† Here we see that the term Moghul was already used to denote all northern men.

BOOK V

A D 1542

defection was instantly followed by that of all the native chiefs, whom the Emperor in vain attempted to soothe, and Humáyun was once more reduced to his own few, though brave, adherents, some of whom, and among the rest Monaim Khan, (who at a future time was destined to be prime minister of the empire) in despair deserted from his camp, and joined the Mírza

Shah Husain attacks him unsuccessfully

The news of the desertion of the Emperor's allies encouraged the Mírza to make an attempt to surprise, or to force his position but Humáyun, having received intimation of the design, had taken such effectual precautions, and so completely defended the camp by new trenches, that the attempt was defeated, though not without serious loss on the Emperor's side.

Biram Khan joins Humáyun Moharrem 7 A. H. 950, April 12 A D 1543 His history

It was at this season of growing distress, that the celebrated Biram Khan arrived, very unexpectedly, in the imperial camp After the disastrous battle of Kanauj, which had finally ruined the fortunes of Humáyun in India, that nobleman, escaping from the field of carnage, found refuge in Sambhal with Raja Matter-Sin, one of the chieftains of the country Shír Shah, hearing of this, sent to demand that he should be given up, to which the Raja, unwilling to incur the weight of that prince's resentment, was obliged to assent Biram Khan was, accordingly, conducted to the royal camp, during Shír Shah's campaign in Malwa The King treated him with marked distinction, rose when he was brought in, embraced, and addressed him in the most flattering manner In the course of conversation, Shír Shah happening to observe that where attachment to a master is real, and proceeds from the heart, it never alters its course, Biram Khan rather emphatically replied, "Your Majesty's observation is just, real attachment can never change" With much difficulty he effected his escape, near Berhánpúr, in company with Abulkásim, who had been governor of Guálíár under Humáyun, and they took the road to Gujrát. As they

travelled along, an ambassador of Shír Shah's, who was on his way back from that country, having heard of Biram Khan's escape, and that some person of distinction was lurking in the neighbourhood, sent a party of his escort, who seized Abulkásim, a nobleman remarkable for his fine countenance and noble deportment. Biram Khan, seeing their mistake, with his usual high spirit and honourable feeling exclaimed, "I am Biram Khan." But Abulkásim, eager to preserve his friend, with much presence of mind interposed, and coolly observed, "See how my faithful servant, to save me, is willing thus to run into danger! Do him no injury, poor fellow! Let him go." Biram Khan was accordingly turned away, and reached Gujrát, where he was well received by Sultan Mahmúd, who then filled the throne. Abulkásim was carried before Shír Shah, who, insensible to the noble devotedness of his friendship, put him to death. Shír Shah often remarked, that from the tone in which Biram Khan assented to his observation that genuine attachment never changes, he felt persuaded he never could gain him. Sultan Mahmúd in vain endeavoured to retain Biram in Gujrát. He obtained leave to make the pilgrimage of Mekka, repaired to Surat, as if for that purpose, passed over into Kattiawár, and thence, soon after, joined Humáyun at Jún. The Emperor was much delighted on hearing of the approach of so eminent a person, at a moment of such difficulty, and made all the leading men in his camp go out to receive and welcome him.*

But Humáyun felt daily, more and more, that while the position of his camp made it nearly unassailable, it at the same time made it easier for the enemy to cut off his supplies. This difficulty was not felt as long as he had the tribes of the desert for his friends. But since they had abandoned him, he was compelled to send out

Renewed
scarcely in
the impe-
rial camp

* Akbarnáma, f. 52, Jouher, c. 12

BOOK V
A D 1513

his own retainers in greater numbers, and to greater distances than before, in order to secure the needful provision of grain and other necessities. In a short time, all the nearer sources of supply had failed. In this exigency, hearing that there was a castle in the Thari, which contained an ample store of corn and other necessities, and that it could be reduced with no great force, he detached Sheikh Ali Beg Jelár on the service, and that officer succeeded so far as to send back considerable supplies to the camp. But Shah Husein, having been informed of his motions, ordered Isa Teikhan, one of his generals, to march and attack the detachment, and cut off all supplies of grain from the imperial camp. That officer showing some hesitation, the duty was committed to Sultan Mahmúd Khan Bhekeri, who till now had remained in disgrace, and who, anxious for an opportunity of recovering the prince's favour, gladly accepted the command, and marched to the relief of the castle, while Shah Husein, to divert and occupy the Emperor's attention, pressed upon the imperial army more closely than ever, both by land and water, and engaged it in daily skirmishes. The Emperor, however, having heard of the march of the detachment that was sent against Sheikh Ali, despatched Ishán Taimur Sultan with a reinforcement to his assistance. As Sheikh Ali was superseded in the command by Ishán Taimur's arrival, he was much offended, and the circumstance produced a very unseasonable quarrel between these two officers. Sheikh Ali, it would appear, was desirous of avoiding a regular conflict.

Humáyun, meanwhile, tired of being shut up more closely than ever within his intrenchments, and seeing no prospect of effecting any thing by the defensive plan of operations to which he was reduced, had determined to hazard a battle. "At this time," says Jouher, "II M said, Shah Husein has advanced three or four times in battle-array, to fight. If he comes back to

morrow morning, I will march out and attack him " With this intention he repeated the Fáteli*, and changed the unfit for better horses His resolution was to fight on the morrow It was the holy month of Ramzán, and after breaking his fast (at sunset), one watch of the night had passed, when a person came from the river-side, and said, " There is some one on the other bank who calls for a boat " H M said, " Ask his name, who calls for a boat at so untimely an hour " They asked, " Who are you, that want a boat ? " He answered, " I am Ishán Taimur Sultan " This was reported to the Emperor, who said, " God grant that all may be well ! " A boat was sent across, and Ishán came before the throne, where he told of the death of Sheikh Ali Beg, and his own defeat " †

CHAP I
SECT II

Destruction
of the foraging
detach-
ment.

It would appear that Sultan Mahmúd Khan, having been joined by some of the neighbouring tribes, watching his opportunity, one morning about sunrise, made an unexpected attack upon the imperial detachment The combat was desperate, and bloody It is insinuated that Terdi Beg ‡, who probably commanded in the name of Ishán Taimur, acted but remissly Sheikh Ali, with his sons and retainers, stood firm, and fell fighting bravely The loss was great on both sides, but especially on that of Humáyun

* This is a solemn prayer from the Koran, and is generally repeated when danger is apprehended

† Jouher, c 12

‡ Tar Sind, f 164 Terdi Beg is repeatedly mentioned as behaving ill, especially by Abulfazl, who writes of him with great bitterness But, as he was put to death by Biram Khan, whose panegyrist that writer is, some doubts may be entertained of the historian's impartiality especially as Terdi Beg, on many occasions of danger and difficulty, is represented as comporting himself bravely, and bearing the brunt of the action He

was one of the oldest of the Chaghatái nobles, and perhaps next in importance to the Emperor He stood in the way of the able and ambitious Biram Khan's power, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him, as those from Persia did to Biram Khan The consequences were seen in the next reign It was a favourable circumstance for Biram's fame, great and undoubted as his merits were, that the historians of the age were, in general, Persians, or the immediate descendants of Persians

BOOK V

A D 1543

On learning these events, and especially the death of Sheikh Ali, the Emperor was affected, and agitated beyond measure. Shah Husein Mírza, on his part, had, like the Emperor, been preparing for a battle on the following morning. His troops had buckled on their armour, and his men were ready to mount, when a deserter from the Emperor's camp arrived with information that Ishán Taimur had been defeated, Sheikh Ali slain, and that Humáyun had resolved to lead out his troops and attack the Mírza in the field, that very day. The Mírza, apprehensive of the efforts of men driven to despair, and hoping that the Emperor would now at length be disposed to make peace, did not, for the three following days, draw out his troops as usual.

Shah Husein proposes terms

At the end of that time, Shah Husein sent Báber Kulí, one of his chief officers, on a mission to the Emperor's camp. Humáyun, as the Mírza had foreseen, was now determined to quit Sind. An agreement was speedily concluded. The Emperor, on the one hand, agreed to quit the territories of Shah Husein, while Shah Husein, on the other, consented to supply him with thirty boats to convey his effects from the present camp, and with 100,000 mithkals in money*, 2000 loads of grain, and 300 camels, to be delivered to him at the village of Runái, when he had crossed the Indus, to enable him to proceed on his route to Kandahár. These terms being arranged, the Mírza gladly furnished him with a bridge of boats to cross the arm of the Indus at Jún. And, accordingly, on the 10th of July, Humáyun marched with his whole army from the camp which they had so long occupied, and crossed the river in two days. The conditions agreed upon were faithfully and joyfully observed by Shah Husein. The provisions and cattle for transport were brought to Runái, and divided among the troops, and from thence the

Humáyun agrees to quit Sind

Rebi II 7
July 10

* Some historians omit the money, which is mentioned in the Tarikh-e Sind

camp moved on to Sehván, where Humáyun made every thing ready for leaving Sind, after having, on the whole, tarried two years and a half in it and the adjoining country *

* The transactions in Sind and the Rájput desert are recorded by Ahulfazl, Akbernáma, ff 50—2 in the Taríkh-e Akberí, ff 154—6 Tar Níz f 192 Ferishta follows briefly, vol ii p 91—5, and the Tar Bedauni, ff 179—182, Jouher, who was with the Emperor, records them in his 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12th chapters. His account, however, being written from memory at

the distance of many years, though lively, does not furnish dates, and perhaps sometimes transposes events Abulfazl, who wrote from excellent reports, though able, is laudatory, and too desirous to conceal the faults of his patron's father The Taríkh-e Sind, ff 161—165 is valuable, as occasionally giving the Sindian Story

CHAPTER I.

HUMÁYUN'S RESIDENCE IN SIND

SECTION III

HUMÁYUN'S ROUTE FROM SIND TO SÍSTÁN

RECENT STATE OF AFGHÁNISTÁN — KÁMRÁN IN KÁBUL — ASKERI IN GHAZNI. — KÁMRÁN'S EXPEDITION TO BADAKHSHÁN — HINDAI IN KANDAHÁR. — EMBASSY OF KÁMRÁN TO SHAH HUSEIN — MET BY HUMÁYUN — DIFFICULTIES OF HIS ADVANCE TO KANDAHÁR. — HOSTILE PREPARATIONS OF ASKERI — HE ADVANCES TO TAKE HUMÁYUN — HASTY FLIGHT OF THE EMPEROR — ARRIVAL OF ASKERI — AKBER TAKEN, AND SENT TO KANDAHÁR. — HUMÁYUN FLIES TOWARDS SÍSTÁN — TEMPORARILY DETAINED BY A PARTY OF BELÚCHES — PROCEEDS THROUGH THE GERMSÍR. — ENTERS SÍSTÁN

BOOK V

A D 1543,

A H 950

Recent

state of

Afghanis-

tan

Kámrán in

Kabul

WHEN Humáyun gave up all thought of re-entering Hindustán at the head of an army, by effecting the conquest of Sind, he unwillingly turned his thoughts towards Kandahár, which was part of the dominions of his brother Kámrán. That prince, after separating from the Emperor at Khusháb, when compelled to abandon the Penjáb to Shír Shah, had retired to Kábul, where he assumed all the insignia of an absolute and independent king, and made the prayer for the prince be recited, and the coin struck, in his own name, thus renouncing even the nominal supremacy of Humáyun. He bestowed the government of Ghazni on his brother Askeri, who accompanied him in his flight, the government of Kandahár was held by Kerácha Khan.

Askeri in

Ghazni

Mirza Kámran, not long after his return to Kábul, marched across the Hindu-kúsh mountains, to chastise Mirza Sukumán, the ruler of Badakhshan, who refused to acknowledge him, or to renounce his allegiance to the Emperor defeated him in battle, compelled him to submit, and deprived him of a portion of his territory. On his return finding that Keráchia Khan had invited Hindal Mirza from Sind, and had delivered up to him the country of Kandahár, he raised an army, and marched towards that capital, which he besieged for six months, when Hindal, finding that resistance was vain, agreed to surrender the place, and coming out to meet his brother, resigned himself into his hands. Kámran bestowed the government of Kandahar on Mirza Askeri, and carried Hindal Mirza to Kábul as a prisoner but after sometime bestowed on him the district of Jím-Sháh, now Jelalabad, in jágir *.

CHAP. I
SECT. III

Kámran's expedition to Badakhshan

Hindal in Kandahar

Mirza Kámran, eager to draw still closer the bonds of union between himself and the ruler of Sind, who had acknowledged him as his superior Lord, sent Mí Alla-dost a man eminent for his piety, and Abdal Wáhab, who belonged to the family of Sheikh Púran, the great Saint of Sind, as ambassadors, to ask the daughter of Shah Husein in marriage. After Humáyún had crossed the Indus, and begun his march towards Kandahár, he heard, when near Selwán, that these ambassadors were not far off, and they also, hearing of his approach, threw themselves into that town. Humáyún sent a message to Alla-dost, asking to see him, but the envoy returned an excuse, pretending that the people among whom he was would not suffer him to quit it. Leaving the banks of the Indus, Humáyún and his followers now proceeded towards Fatehpúr-Gandava. After leaving that place, their route lay through a

Letter of Kámran to Shah Husein

met by Humáyún

Difficulties of his road

* Akbarnama, ff 55, 56. The Far Bedauni says, that he gave him Ghazni (probably a mistake), but

afterwards took it from him, and made him reside in Mouza-Derwishan, f 181

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A. D 1543.]

vance to-
wards Kan-
dahár

tract of country, for some days' march desert and waste, and afterwards rugged and mountainous. The guides given them by Shah Husein, who had no desire that he should become acquainted with the country, were careful not to conduct them to the best springs or wells*, and the troops suffered much from having only brackish water, or none. To add to their distress, the road was infested by banditti, as it has been in all ages, they were chiefly Balúches, who, singly or in bands, hovered around, and plundered, without mercy, all that fell behind in the line of march. Jouher tells us that, having fallen somewhat behind, he was attacked and wounded, and the water vessels under his charge carried off, almost in presence of the Emperor. The plunder and distress were general, and, as much time had been spent on the march, and the year was on its decline, the country, which in summer is exposed to the *Simúm*, and the blasting winds of the desert, was now subject to such excessive cold, that the travellers' broth, we are told, was hardly poured out of the kettle, when it became a plate of ice. Even the men of most note were ill provided with clothing, to resist the severity of the cold, to which they were here exposed. As an example of their unprovided condition, the Emperor, who happened to have a fur cloak, made it be divided, giving the outside, as a most acceptable gift, to Biram Khan, and the inside, or lining, to an officer of the household. After a toilsome journey, most probably through the Bolán Pass, they reached the district of Shál-Mustung, near the northern limit of Baluchistán, and about a hundred and fifty miles from Kandahár, on which it was dependent.

Hostile pre-
parations of
Askeri.

Here they encountered difficulties of a different de-

* Such is the account of the contemporary writers, and from the Mírza's character it is not improbable. But the difficulty of the

march through such a country might, of itself, account for many of the hardships endured by the Emperor.

scription Two of the Emperor's servants, who preceded the camp, were carried off from a spring at which they had alighted, by scouts sent out by Jilál-ed-dín Beg, an officer of Kámrán's, who was stationed in that quarter. One of the two, however, contrived to make his escape, and, rejoining the Emperor, related both his own adventures, and such circumstances as he had learnt from the conversation of the party that had taken him. By this accident, Humáyun discovered that his brothers were aware of his approach, that their hostility was unabated, and that Askeri was not far off. Renouncing, therefore, his intention of proceeding to Kandihár, he turned off towards Mustung. Some of his followers, however, asked permission to go on to Kandihár, which he granted, and, at the same time, wrote a letter of remonstrance and advice to his brother, which he entrusted to one of them to deliver.

When Humáyun was leaving Sind to march against Kandihár, Shih Husein, desirous of counteracting his plans for retrieving his affairs, had despatched expresses to Kámrán and Askeri, to inform them of his movements. Kámrán instantly sent orders to Askeri at Kandihár, to put that city in a state of defence, and himself to waylay and seize Humáyun, at whatever risk. Askeri Mirza, having executed the one part of his instructions, had now advanced considerably on his way to execute the other. The Amírs, who formed his court, were, however, far from being unanimous in their opinions. Kasim Husein Sultan Üzbek, Mehdi Kásim Khan, and others, advised him not to move against the Emperor, lest that prince, driven to desperation, should take refuge in Persia, a step which might be followed by the most ruinous consequences. Abulkhair was of a different opinion, and enforced the necessity of seizing Humáyun, and to this opinion Askeri inclined. In the morning after the consultation, therefore, the Mírza marched forward on his route towards Shál-Mustung,

He advances to
take Humáyun

BOOK V
A D 1543

(in which direction he learned that the Emperor, who was not far off, had proceeded,) in hopes of surprising him After advancing a kos or two, having by this time got into a waste and intricate country, he inquired if any of his followers was acquainted with the road One Chupı Beháder, an Uzbek, who had been in Kásım Husein Sultan's service, but in this expedition had joined the troops immediately under the Mırza, said that he knew it thoroughly, having often travelled it back and forward "True," said the Mırza, "you had a jágır in this quarter," and ordered him to ride forward, to reconnoitre along the road, and report what he saw The man remarking to the Mırza that he rode but a sorry pony*, the Mırza directed Tersún Bulás, one of his attendants, to dismount and lend him his horse, which was stout and swift, and Tersún obeying very reluctantly, was sharply chidden by the prince

Chupı, who had formerly served under Humáyun in Hindustán, having mounted his fleet steed, rode for some time at a moderate pace, till he had reached the pass of Pekh, in a valley formed by the hills, when, being out of sight, he set off at full speed, and did not halt till he reached the imperial camp, when he alighted at the door of Bıram Khan's tent, and at once informed him of the danger that was at hand. Bıram Khan, without delay, hastened, by a private road, to the Emperor's pavilion, and speaking from behind the kanáts or screen, informed him of the imminent danger with which he was threatened Humáyun starting up, proposed, with his usual spirit, to meet the attack in arms but the Khan at once convinced him that, from Askeri's overpowering superiority in numbers, there was no hope but in retreat The Emperor upon this, indignantly exclaiming, "Are Kandahár and Kábul for ever to be the cause of contention between me and my un

BOOK V

A. D. 1543

Arrival of
Askeri

Just as Humáyun was setting out, Mír Abul Hasan, the Sadr, who had been sent forward by Askeri to attempt to detain the Emperor, by engaging him in conversation, arrived, and proceeded to deliver some complimentary messages on the part of the Mírza Humáyun, however, set off, without paying them any attention. Askeri came in sight some time after, and pushed forward a body of troops to surround the camp, intending to cut off all communication with it on every side, and to prevent any one from escaping. But he soon learned, with regret, that Chupí Beháder had brought news of his approach, and that the Emperor had already escaped, and fled into the desert. He placed a guard, to cut off all intercourse between the two camps. Mír Ghaznevi (afterwards Atkeh Khan), under whose care the young prince had been left, presented himself, and was graciously received, the Mírza expressing his regret that Humáyun had gone away, loudly professing that his sole object in coming was to wait upon the Emperor, and to do him every service. He, at the same time, sent a camel with fruit for Akber's use. But he repaired the same evening to the imperial tents, and, throwing aside all shame, took possession of the baggage, all of which he narrowly examined, causing a list of the articles to be made in his own presence. He, at first, received with civility Terdí Beg and Humáyun's other Amírs, when they waited on him, but next day, they were delivered into custody, and soon after subjected to heavy exactions, many of them perishing in the tortures inflicted on them to extort a discovery of their real or supposed wealth. The young prince was received with every mark of affection and tenderness, and carried to Kandahár by Askeri, who delivered him to the charge of his wife Sultánúm Begum, but without taking him from the

Akber sent
to Kanda-
hár

coming in great force," &c. Abul-
fazi had seen Jouher's narrative. It
does not appear whether Nizám-ed-
dín Ahmed had. It carries with it
an air of probability

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A D 1543

Temporarily detain-
ed by a
party of
Balúches

of Malek Khātī, a Balúch chief, whom Abulfazl styles the Captain-General of the banditti of the desert. This leader being at that moment absent, his people, on finding that it was the Emperor, insisted that the little troop should not pass onward without their master's leave.

The Emperor was obliged to comply, and entering the fort, the freebooters salaamed to him respectfully, spread a carpet on which he and Hamída Begum sat down, and supplied the wants of the party with all the hospitality of the desert. When day began to dawn, as the Emperor was engaged in his morning prayers, Malek Khātī, who had been sent for, returned.

The Emperor's peaceable entrance into the fort, which gave him the character of a guest, had roused the robber's sense of honour. Saluting the Emperor, and making the usual polite inquiries after his health, the chief informed him, that three days before, an order from Kámrán Mírza had reached him, commanding him not, on any account, to suffer the Emperor Humáyun to pass that way, but to seize, and make him prisoner. "But," added he, "now that your Majesty has visited me, on my head and eyes be it. Yet it is better that you should ride on, and I will myself conduct you to the borders." Humáyun gladly assented. The party was again put in motion, and proceeded about fifteen kos, guided and accompanied to the confine of his territory by the Malek, who there took his leave.

Proceeds
through the
Germsir

On losing the escort of his robber host, Humáyun entered the Germsir*, which lies between Kandahár and Khorásán, and at that time depended on Mírza Kámrán. Though a very unwelcome guest to Abdal Hai, the governor of the country, who remained faithful to the Mírza, and even punished some of his servants who assisted the Emperor, he was, however, received with a certain degree of respect, and supplied, though scantily,

* Germsir signifies warm country, and here denotes the low tract of land lying on the Helمند

with such necessaries as the country afforded. It happened that Khwája Jilál-ed-dín Mahmúd had been sent into the district by Askeri to collect the revenue. Humáyun opened a communication with him, and succeeded in bringing him over to his interest, so that the Khwája waited upon him, and presented his Majesty with a large set of tents, besides horses, camels and mules, and such sum of money as he had collected, a most seasonable and acceptable supply, in his present distressed circumstances, to the Emperor, who bestowed on him what was then little more than a title, the office of Mír Sámán, Sirkár Kháseh (keeper of the imperial stores).

The Germsír of Kandahár, in which Humáyun lingered for some days, was subject to that country, but lay close upon Sístán, a province that belonged to the King of Persia, and into which, by merely passing the Helمند, he could easily fly. His unhappy and destitute condition preyed upon his mind. Worn out by his sufferings, feeling the vanity of past enjoyments, which had vanished from his grasp, and left behind nothing but regret, and willing to turn his eyes from the deary prospect before him, with a feeling common to Musulmans in adversity, he talked of devoting the remains of his life, in some sequestered solitude, to meditation and prayer. But the remonstrances of his adherents, powerfully supported no doubt by his hankering after the enjoyments of that world, which he believed that he was desirous of abandoning, soon recalled him to more active exertions. Desirous of ascertaining the sentiments of the King of Persia, the hereditary friend of his family, he addressed to him a letter, in which he explained his situation and his wishes, and despatched it by the hands of Chupí Beháder. He would willingly have remained in the Germsír, till an answer arrived, but Abdal Hai sent to announce to him, that Mírza Kámián had despatched a large body of men

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A D 1543

Enters Sís-
tán

from Kandahár, in quest of him, that, if he remained, nothing could prevent his falling into their hands, and that his only hope of safety lay in passing into the adjoining province of Sístán, where, under the protection of the King of Persia, he would be free from danger. Seeing, therefore, that he could nowhere be safe in the wide-spreading dominions of his father, Humáyun unwillingly crossed the Helمند, and encamped in the Persian territory, by the side of the lake into which that river empties itself. He was hospitably and honourably received and entertained by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor *

Humáyun did not willingly abandon the territory which he considered as his own, to enter that of the Shah of Persia, a bigot, who was the chief of another sect of Musulmans from that to which he and his forefathers had adhered. But he had not a spot on which he could safely place his foot. Kámran seemed to have come in his place, and by the extent of his dominions to have become the representative of the Chaghatái dynasty. He was master of Kábul and Ghazni, of Kandahár, Khutlán and Badakhshán. Shír Shah ruled, with absolute power and acknowledged talent, the empire that had formerly been his, and, in addition to it, the Penjáb, and the countries beyond the Indus, which he had wrested from Kámran. In Upper and Lower Sind, Shah Husein Arghún was absolute master. Driven from every spot of which he had lately called himself master, and viewing, with the deepest dread, the possibility of falling into the hands of his brother, he resolved to abandon the kingdoms of his father, and threw himself on the dubious and untried generosity of a stranger.

* Akbernama, f 58, Tabak Akberí, ff 156, 157, Tar Níz f 194, Jouher, c 13. On the few adherents who accompanied Humáyun in his flight from Mustang

to Gernsír, Humáyun seems to have bestowed the name of *Chuli*, men of the desert, and to have always treated them with special regard.

CHAPTER II

HUMÁYUN IN PERSIA

HUMÁYUN'S RELUCTANCE TO ENTER PERSIA — HIS RECEPTION AND OCCUPATIONS IN SÍSTÁN — SETS OUT FOR HERÁT AND MESHIH — REGAL ENTERTAINMENT BY THE SHAH'S ORDERS — STAY AT HERÁT AND MESHIH — PROCEEDS TO JOIN THE SHAH — SENDS FORWARD BIRAN KHAN AS ENVOY — TREATMENT OF THE AMBASSADOR AT KAZVÍN — HUMÁYUN AT KAZVÍN — DEPUTATION FROM THE SHAH — INTERVIEW OF THE SOVEREIGNS — HUMÁYUN AT THE PERSIAN COURT — INTOLERANCE OF TAHMASP — GRAND HUNTING PARTY — INTRIGUES AGAINST HUMÁYUN — JEALOUSIES OF THE SOVEREIGNS — ATTEMPTS TO CONVERT HUMÁYUN TO THE SHÍA SECT — LEAGUE BETWEEN HUMÁYUN AND TAHMASP — PARTING FESTIVITIES — HUMÁYUN PREPARES TO SET OUT FOR KANDAHÁR — REMARKS ON HIS TREATMENT BY THE SHAH — AND HIS OWN BEHAVIOUR

It was not without great reluctance that Humayun came to the determination of abandoning his own dominions, and trusting himself in the power of a foreign prince, who had pretensions to some part of his territory, and was a bigoted adherent to a sect of Moslemism, different from that to which he himself adhered. But he had only a choice of evils left, and he submitted to what he deemed the least.

On entering Sístán, he was received with the greatest respect and hospitality by Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor. Humáyun, at first spent much of his time in the amusements of hunting and hawking, waiting till an answer should be returned to the letter which he had addressed to the Shah. He afterwards advanced farther into the province, when the governor brought his mother and wives to entertain the empress. Many of Humáyun's late followers, who had been carried to Kandahái, escaped, and, by degrees, joined him in

CHAP. II

A. D. 1544,
A. H. 950
Humáyun's
reluctance
to enter
Persia

His recep-
tion and oc-
cupations in
Sístán

BOOK V
A. D. 1544

Sístán Many visitors of note waited upon him out of respect, or from curiosity. Among those most acceptable to him, was Husein Kuli Sultan, the governor's brother, who had come from Meshhid, to visit his mother and brother, before setting out on a pilgrimage to Mekka. As he was a man of piety, of learning, and of speculation, Humáyun questioned him minutely as to the tenets of the religious sects that then divided Persia, and especially as to the grand division into Shíás and Sunnis, a subject which had become of the deepest importance to the fugitive prince. Having one day asked him, what was his own opinion as to the difference between the sects, Husein Kuli answered, evasively but with address, that he had for a long time meditated on the conflicting tenets of these sects, and, during the last five years, had read all the books written by both parties, that the Shíás maintain that to curse and ban the three first Khalifs, is an act of piety, and agreeable to God, while the Sunnis hold, that such conduct is the mark of an infidel; but that, for his part, he conceived that, if a man conscientiously believed that by doing a certain act, he was meriting the favour of God, this never could mark him out as an infidel. Humáyun was pleased with the argument, and with the whole style of Husein Kuli's conversation, and pressed him to enter his service, but Husein Kuli excused himself, on the plea of having made all his arrangements for setting out on the great pilgrimage, though he promised to join him on his return from the Holy cities.*

Among those who joined Humáyun from Kandahár, were Háji Muhammed Bába Kushkeh and Hasán Koki, both foster brothers of Kámran, who strongly urged him to march into Zemín-dáwer—at that time a province of Kandahár—assuring him that Amín Beg, the

* Akbernama, ff 57, 58, Tar Niz f 194, Mem of Payezid, ff 2, 3

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other chief officers of the provinces and cities through which the Emperor was likely to pass, commanding them to receive and entertain the imperial guest with every mark of honour, and to furnish him and his retinue with provisions, wines, fruits, and whatever else could contribute to their comfort from stage to stage in the whole progress of their journey. In the firmán directed to the governor of Herát, he is enjoined to prepare, for the Emperor's use, five hundred trays of meat of different kinds, besides sweetmeats, and the total number of trays of every description for him and his suite was never to be less than fifteen hundred daily. A thousand men on horseback were always to attend him, who were strictly enjoined to prevent all collisions between the natives of the country and the Emperor's servants *

From Farra, where he was rejoined by his own messengers, and by the Shah's ambassadors, who had attended them back from the court, his advance to Herát resembled a triumphal procession. For the space of twelve or fifteen miles before he reached the capital, the whole inhabitants of the nearest towns and villages had been commanded to attend, and line the road, and as he approached Herát, the whole population of the town poured out, and covered the hills and plains, the

* Akbernáma, ff 57—9, Bayezid's Mem ff 3—5. The Shah's letter to the Governor of Herát is curious, but is illustrative of the state of Persia rather than of India. It describes the presents for the Emperor, consisting of horses, daggers, ornamented swords, housings of cloth of gold, brocades, &c, as well as directions for his entertainment. Everything is specified: loaves of white bread, baked with milk and butter, tents, table-linen, sheets, changes of wearing apparel, plate, and utensils of all kinds, sher-

bets cooled in ice and water, fruits, grapes, rose-water, amber, and perfumes, the number of trays of meat. The young prince was to make the Hazáras and Nukders of the adjoining mountains come down, to the number of 30,000, and attend the Emperor on his route to Herát. On every subject, the minutest directions are given. Akbernáma, No 1 ff 57—59, No 2 f 119 and seqq. Also Bayezid's Mem MS ff 3—10, from which Abulfazl probably copied it.

tices and house tops, as he passed along The Amír al omra, Muhammed Khan Sheif-ed-dín Oghlí Taklu, the young prince's Atálik or guardian, and the chief officers of the government, received him at the Púl-málán river, and conducted him towards the city, where the young prince himself, Sultan Muhammed Mírza, the Shah's eldest son, and nominal governor of Herát, received him in state, and accompanied him to the palace in the Jehán-ará gardens, where he found a magnificent entertainment prepared for him *

CHAP II

Zikadeh 1
Jan 26

Having visited the palaces, mosques, colleges, monasteries, tombs, and gardens of Herát, then one of the finest cities in the world, and lingered there about a month, he proceeded towards Meshhid, by the route of Jám, where he visited with reverence the mausoleum † of his Empress Hamída-Bánu's ancestor, Zhundah-fíl Ahmed Jám, a holy man, to whose tomb pilgrimages were made, as to a place of great sanctity From Jám he went on to Meshhid, where he was received with the usual procession and demonstrations of respect, by Shah-kuli Sultan Istajlu Here he remained forty days, and visited the sacred tomb of the Imám Ali

Stay at
Herát,Zilbahjeh 5
Feb 29and Mesh-
hid
A D 951,
Moharrem
15 April 8

* Akbernama, ff 59, 60, Tab Akb f 157

† "As he visited this tomb by night, the gate was shut The door-keeper attempted to open it, but the chain was closed, and the Emperor was informed by him that it was impossible to remove the chain He retired a few steps, but returning, 'O Imám, said he, 'every person who has ever offered up his vows at your shrine has obtained the object of his wishes, your slave has also come with similar hopes to your tomb, in expectation of succeeding in his request?' Having said this, he laid his hand on the door, when, instantly, the chain was unlocked it

might even be said it was cut in two on which his Majesty entered the holy tomb, walked round it, and offered up his prayers, after which, he sat down at an appointed place, and began to read the Koran The superintendent of the tomb then said to the Emperor, 'If you like, you may snuff the lamp' His Majesty replied, 'If not too great a liberty, I will do so' The officer said, 'You have leave' The Emperor, therefore, took up the scissors, and cut off the snuff of the lamp, after which, having said his prayers, he came out, but commanded that one of the royal bows should be suspended at the gate as an offering" Stewart s Jouher, p 6

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Proceeds to
join the
Shah

Reza, which, being a Sunni, he was obliged to do privately and here he appears to have received the first direct invitation from the Shah to repair to Kazvín Advancing therefore by Nishabúr, he visited the turquoise mines in the neighbourhood, and then went on to Sebzáwár Having halted there forty days he resumed his progress, proceeding by Damghán, Bostám, Semnán, and Sefiábád, receiving from time to time as he went along, expresses, which brought him presents of fruit from the court

The real circumstances of Humáyun's intercourse with Shah Tahmasp cannot be satisfactorily ascertained Abulfazl, whom historians in general copy, jealous of the honour of the imperial family, merely hints at, or altogether conceals, or perverts, any circumstances which were painful or humiliating to the exiled prince Succeeding historians, following his authority, have accordingly been loud in their praises of the magnificent hospitality with which he was received It was not until the publication of the translation of the Memoirs of Jouher*, who attended the Emperor as a domestic servant during his exile, and who tells his plain unvarnished tale, with the unconscious frankness of an aged gossip, on the minutest circumstances of incidents, to which the elegant, but cautious, historian hardly ventures to allude, that it was discovered that Humáyun had much to suffer, and many humiliations to endure Indeed, even the proud parade of his entry into the chief towns, was less fitted to please a man, however vain, by the borrowed pomp and show with which he was surrounded, than to humble one of a proud spirit, by a public exhibition of his own misery, and his patron's grandeur

Sends for-
ward Bīram

When Humáyun reached Kila Ders near Rei, a

* The *Tuzkereh al Vákiát*, or private Memoirs of the Mogul Emperor Humáyun, written in the Persian language by Jouher, translated

by Major Charles Stewart, H E I C S Lond 1832 (Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund)

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It is usual for the kings of Persia, during the warm season of the year, to leave their palaces in the cities on the plain, and to retire to cool summer quarters, high up among the lofty mountains which are so common in that country. Those of the Shah were, this year, between Sultanía and Surlik. When Tahmasp set out from Kazvín, he sent directions to Humáyun to remain where he was, till further notice. But he, soon after, sent Babek Beg, to act as the Emperor's Mehmándár, and instructions followed that he should advance to Kazvín, where he was to rest three days, and then proceed on to the camp of the Shah *

Humáyun
at KazvínJemádl I
July or
Augt. (It
begins July
21)Deputation
from the
Shah

During the three days that Humáyun resided at Kazvín, he was lodged in one of the royal palaces, and entertained with much splendour. On the fourth day, he set out to join the royal camp, which lay between Abber and Sultanía, and travelled all night. In the latter part of the night, he desired his people to look out for water, that he might halt. While they were so employed, news was brought that Biram Beg was at hand. That nobleman soon after arrived, and observed to Humáyun, that he had advanced rather far, but the Emperor said, he could not go back. The Emperor, having said his morning prayers, then went to sleep, but was soon after wakened by the singing of the Persian pioneers, who had begun to work in repairing the road. Having bathed, and dressed himself, he took his seat in his diwán-khána, or presence chamber, as Biram Beg informed him that a large honorary procession was on its way to meet him. Here he received the vakíls of the Sultans, the Khans, the Mírzas, and the great Syeds in succession, who were all presented, and then setting out, the Emperor

sented by all orthodox Musulmans. They are occasionally severely persecuted. They have been already mentioned, vol 1 p 287, note

* Akbernáma, ff 57, 58, Tar Niz f 194, Tab Akb f 157, Jouher, c 14, 15, Bayezíd, ff 2 —12

met the Sultans, Khans, Mirzas and Syeds themselves as he advanced along the road. When the King's brothers met the Emperor, Behám Mirza presented him with a complete dress of honour, and a heavy unbroken steed the latter, with the polite arrogance characteristic of Persians, for the purpose of putting to the test his skill in horsemanship, on which they pique themselves so much. Humayun put on the whole of the proffered dress, except the *táj*, or cap, which, bearing the symbol of the twelve Imams, was considered as indicating an adoption of the Shia faith. He then mounted the horse, which fortunately, to their disappointment, proved very manageable in his hands. The Emperor now again moved on, and was met by the korchí-báshí (or commander of the guards), who addressed him with a "salam aleikum" (on you be peace) a salutation used among equals, and passed on. After him, "a number of inferior people mounted on Kermání horses came, and made their salute the object of their being introduced was to prove that all the Persians, whether of high or of low rank, were on a footing with our (Emperor) "*.

The Shah received Humayun with honour, and placed him on a cushion on his right hand. But his religious zeal was not long of betraying itself. "After making some inquiries concerning his health and the fatigues of the journey, he said, 'You will put on the *táj*' (or Persian cap). Humayun (taking advantage of the ambiguity of the term) answered, 'The *táj* (crown) is a mark of greatness. I will put it on.' The Shah, with his own royal hands, then placed the cap on the Emperor's head, on which the Shah, and all the Khans and Sultans raised a shout, calling out, 'Alla! Alla!' and bending down their heads, as in prayer, according to their custom. The Emperor then asked that the

Interview of
the Sovereigns
Jemádl
Juli, and
August.

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Mírzas might be allowed to be seated, but was told by the Shah that such was not the etiquette." An entertainment, served by the Emperor's butler, followed. The two sovereigns ate together. When it was finished, there was another general shout, and prostration, in honour of the coming of so great a potentate to the foot of the royal throne.* To the spectators in general, it must have appeared as if the Indian prince had conformed to the Persian usages and faith.

Humáyun
at the Per-
sian Court.

Humáyun, on leaving the presence, had quarters assigned to him between those of Behráw Mírza and Beder Khan, and was attended home by the Mírza. After enjoying the warm bath, he made his hair be cut off, apparently to conform to the Persian costume, and having received three honorary dresses, he put on one of them, and, conforming himself to circumstances with the easy elasticity of his character, passed the rest of the night in jollity and pleasure.

Next day, as the Shah marched for Sultania, Humáyun, having gone out to salute him, was treated with cold neglect and insult. The Persian's arrogance is never displayed more conspicuously than in the advantages which he attempts to gain over an antagonist in the combat of forms, an important part in their diplomacy. Humáyun, much hurt at the slight thus put upon him, as soon as he arrived at Sultania, went straight to the dome of the shrine of Sultan Muhammed Khodábendeh†, the grand prop of the Shíá faith, and there gave vent to feelings of the deepest regret and self-reproach, for having put himself in the power of a

* Jouher, c. 14.

† Sultan Muhammed Khodábendeh (originally called Aljaptu or Uljátu), was the son of Arghún and brother of Eazan, whom he succeeded as Emperor of the Moghuls. He was a zealous Musulman, hav-

ing been converted to that religion, when he took the surname of Khodábendeh, or servant of God. He founded Sultania, A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304), and was celebrated for his justice.

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He represented to him, that he was not a solitary being, for that the consequences of his fruitless obstinacy would affect, not himself only, but the lives of nearly seven hundred helpless Sunnis, his followers, who must share his fate that the circumstances in which he was placed imposed it upon him as a duty, should he find himself driven to extremity, to intimate his acquiescence, on the reasonable ground that, as he was no longer master of his own actions, he must submit "But what am I expected to do?" said the Emperor "Let the specific demands be brought in writing" *

The Diwán was not long of returning, when he brought three papers from Shah Tahmasp. Humáyun read two of them, which he put aside He was perusing the third, when the Shah himself, burning with impatience, came to one side of the pavilion, and called out something with a loud voice The Diwán upon this, addressing the Emperor in a soothing tone, told him that there was no going back, and beseeched him to have regard to the circumstances in which he stood The Shah himself presented him with the third paper, with his own hand, and read it in his presence Humáyun would seem to have signed it, though the nature and extent of his forced acquiescence are not very clear †

Grand
hunting
party

For his own royal amusement, and to exhibit to the Emperor his power and greatness, the Shah ordered a grand hunting match near the Takht-e Sulemán ‡, one

* Tab Akb f 158, Jouher, c 14

† Jouher, c 14, but the account is very confused in the only copy of the original which I have seen, and I am uncertain if I have always caught the sense

‡ An interesting account of Takht-e Sulemán may be found in Major Rawlinson's notes of his

journey to the ruins of that place Journey of the Royal Geographical Society, vol x pp 46—57 "In the spring and summer," says that inquisitive and intelligent traveller (p 56), "the neighbourhood of Takhti Sulemán is represented as a perfect paradise The country all around is carpeted with the richest verdure the climate is delightful,

of the most beautiful spots in Persia. The game, for several days' journey round about, was driven to a central point by the inhabitants of the country, assisted by the troops, and confined by fences or bodies of armed men. The collection of wild animals thus brought together is described as being immense. When all was ready, the Shah and the Emperor first entered to a convenient spot within the ring, and when satiated with the easy slaughter of some of the innumerable animals thus presented to them, the royal Mirzas were next admitted, and after them the chief nobles, among whom were Bīram Beg and Hap Muhammed Koka, and some others of the suite of the Emperor. In the end, persons of every rank were admitted indiscriminately, and the soldiers were allowed to kill and carry off at pleasure. A second ring was formed, some days after, near the Houz-e-Sulciman (Sulciman's Lake), and after the hunt or slaughter there were games of choughan-bazi and kekk-endizi, a kind of horse-shmty, and shooting at a mark, generally a bison, or bird, placed on the top of a high pole, while riding at full speed. After some days had been passed in these amusements*, Humayun, desirous of conciliating the Persian monarch, made up a present, consisting of the largest diamond which he possessed, "worth kingdoms,"† and of two hundred and fifty fine Badakhshan rubies, which he sent by Bīram Beg, as an offering to the Shah, with a message, that the latter had been brought from

and myriads of wild flowers impregnate the air with fragrance. Indeed, there is not considered a more agreeable vailah, or summer pasture, in all Persia.

* A circumstance which occurred at one of these hunts illustrates the lax morality of the Mirzas and the servility of the court. Behram Mirza, the king's brother was on bad terms with Abul k̄asim Khalfa,

a Persian nobleman of rank. Seizing a favourable opportunity, the Mirza took a deliberate aim, and shot him with an arrow, during the chase, he died upon the spot. No one dared to mention this murder to the King.

† This diamond is said to have weighed 4 miskals and 1 dang. Akbernama, f 60, Alem-arāi Abasi, f 13.

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Badakhshán expressly for the purpose The royal jewellers having declared these precious stones to be above all price, Shah Tahmasp signified his satisfaction, and bestowed on Biram Beg the title of Khan, with the alem-standard and kettle-drum, while Hájí Muhammed Koka, who had been successful at the play of keb-k-endázi, was honoured with the title of Sultan These titles, bestowed by one sovereign on the servants of another, were, at least, of an ambiguous nature, and marked an assumption of superiority on the part of the Persian monarch *

Intrigues
against Hu-
máyun

For nearly two months after these events, all intercourse, whether personal or in writing, between the two monarchs, was suspended For this, various reasons are assigned It seems that Roushen Beg Koka, and some other Amírs who had been in Humáyun's service, but had afterwards joined Kámrán, returning about this time from the pilgrimage of Mekka, were introduced to the king of Persia Most of them had quarrelled with Humáyun, who had charged Roushen Beg in particular with embezzling some jewels committed to his charge In the course of their intercourse with the Shah, they represented Humáyun as quite devoid of the talents required in a king, and affirmed that, had he behaved properly to his brothers, he never need have left his own kingdom They farther offered, if Humáyun were imprisoned, to lead a Persian army to Kandahár, which they undertook to deliver over to the Shah A second cause is said to have been the unwillingness of the Persian Turkomán and Túrki officers to serve under Humáyun, whose father Báber, they alleged, had, by his treachery, caused the death of Mír Najm, their countryman and his army, when sent to assist him, and they apprehended that the same fate

* Akbernáma, f 60, Jouher, the title of Arjemend Khan, Khan-
c 14, Tar Niz f 195, Kháfi Khánán The Alem-arái mentions
Khan, f 184, says that Biram got that of Khan-Khánán

might probably await themselves if they attended the Emperor. A third reason, more personal to the Shah, is also mentioned. When Humáyun, sixteen years before, after having defeated Beháder Shah of Gujrát, returned to Agra, he had, on some occasion, amused himself with the trial of divining arrows, on twelve of the first class of which he inscribed his own name, while on eleven of an inferior sort he put that of Shah Tahmasp, a circumstance which had been repeated to the Persian prince, who, some time before this, had charged him with the offence. Humáyun acknowledged the fact, but accounted for it by saying that, in what he had done, he had looked only to the relative extent of the dominions of the two princes, his being, at that moment, twice as extensive as those of Persia. "Yes," said Tahmasp, much piqued, "and one consequence of this foolish conceit has been, that you could not govern these your extensive dominions, but have suffered yourself to be driven from them by a set of clowns, leaving your children and family prisoners behind you." — "We are all in the hand of God," said the Emperor, "and must submit to the decrees of the Almighty."

Jalousies of
the sover-
eigns

This was not the only occasion on which Humáyun's expulsion from his dominions had formed the subject of conversation between the two princes. At an early period of their intercourse, Shah Tahmasp, when consoling his guest, who sat at dinner with him, had encouraged him to hope, in his oriental phraseology, that the sword of the Shah would be the key to open for him once more the doors of the kingdoms subdued by his father Báber, but added, that the real source of all his misfortunes lay in the impudicous way in which he had treated his brothers, whom he had rendered independent: that, for his part, he made it a fundamental point of his policy to keep his brothers weak and in subjection to him, and that, unless Humáyun adopted a similar principle, his kingdoms never would enjoy

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repose After dinner, Behráw Mírza, the Shah's brother, having advanced, according to custom, to present the basin and ewer, Tahmasp observed, "This is the way in which you ought to have treated your brothers," a remark in which Humáyun, warm from the recent conversation, heartily and pointedly concurred. The Mírza, offended with the tone of Humáyun's assent, never forgave him, became his bitter enemy, and did all in his power to injure him with the Shah, which was rendered the easier by that prince's religious bigotry, and by the virulent feelings, generated by his unsuccessful attempt to convert the Emperor, clearly and decidedly, to his opinions.

Attempts to
convert Hu-
máyun to
the Shia
sect.

Humáyun certainly seems for a time to have been in danger of spending the remainder of his life as a prisoner in Persia, even if his life was safe. Tahmasp is reported at one time to have given instructions to Behráw Mírza to remove out of the way the obstinate Emperor, who was relieved from the dangers that surrounded him, chiefly by the generous intercession of Shah Tahmasp's sister, Sultánüm Khánüm, who strongly represented to her brother the impolicy, as well as injustice, of using any severity towards an exiled prince who had sought his protection and hospitality, and flattered him with the hopes of removing in due time the stranger's religious errors, and of gaining a royal convert. Humáyun is said to have encouraged these efforts of the friendly princess, by assuring her that he had always been privately well disposed to the Shia faith, a circumstance from which much of the animosity of his brothers towards him had proceeded. The Sultánüm was effectively aided in all her endeavours by Kázi Jehán, the minister, whose piety was purer and more enlightened than that of his master, and who did all in his power to awaken generous feelings in his mind. They found an useful auxiliary in the Shah's physician, Hakím Núr-ed-dín Muhammed*, who was

* Or Muharrem

much with the Shah, and had great influence on his mind, and whose benevolent efforts to assist the unfortunate monarch were never relaxed. Humáyun is said to have completed the favourable impressions made by the princess and her friends on the mind of the Shah, by some complimentary verses addressed to him, the concluding couplet of which, playing upon Humáyun's name, bore that other princes placed their glory in having been under the shadow of the Huma, but that the Shah, greater than all, had the Huma under his. The Huma is an imaginary bird, and the Orientals believe that, on whomsoever its shadow falls, that person is destined to sovereignty *

Certain it is that, whatever was the cause, Shah Tahmasp, in the end, changed his conduct. He sent for Humáyun, to meet him at his summer camp. Humáyun went, and had a private conference of several hours, in which it seems to have been agreed, that the Shah was to assist him in recovering Kandahár, Kábul and Badakhshán, that Kandahár, when taken, was to be restored to Persia, and that the Emperor and his suite were to listen to the instructions of Kázi Jehán on the subject of their religious differences. The Emperor, on returning to his quarters, took a favourable opportunity of assembling his Hindustáni followers, informed them of Shah Tahmasp's promises, which held out to them an early prospect of revisiting their native country. He added that Kázi Jehán would speak to them "on a certain subject." They were all delighted at this change, and lifted up their hands in thanksgiving. As, by the result of the negotiations, which had been probably conducted, on the Emperor's side, by Biram Khan, the temporal interests of the two monarchs were become the same, a compromise seems to have taken place. Humáyun professed to favour

League
between
Humáyun
and 'Tah-
masp

* Tar Bed f 182, Khol ul Tow f 265, Tab Akb f 158, Ferishta, vol ii p 154—6

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the Shíá partialities of the Shah, and the Shah affected to believe that Humáyun and his followers were sincere in their professions. In the whole of this difficult negotiation, Humáyun was much assisted by Kázi Jehán, and the royal physician, Núr-ed-dín Hakím. The Shíá divines wrote out the articles of their faith, all of which Humáyun read and assented to, and agreed that the khutba, or prayer for the Sovereign, should be recited in the Shíá form *

This reconciliation was followed by a grand ring-hunt, and a magnificent entertainment given to Humáyun near the Takht e-Suleimán. To prove the sincerity of the new alliance, Roushen Beg and the other officers who had tendered their services to put the Shah in possession of Kandahár, were seized and brought before Tahmasp. Being no longer useful, they were sacrificed as traitors to this union of kings. The Shah gave orders that, their tent-ropes being cut and tied round their waists, they should be lowered down into the deep subterraneous prison in the Diwán of Mehter Suleimán †, there to perish miserably. Roushen Koka, who was the Emperor's foster-brother, found means to write him a letter, imploring him, by the memory of his mother, whose milk they had both sucked, to pardon and intercede for him. Humáyun, with his usual humanity, instantly wrote, beseeching the Shah, in the strongest terms, by the tomb of his father Shah Ismáel, to remit the punishment. "Doubtless," said the Shah, on reading the letter, "Muhammed Humáyun is a man of singular good nature and benevolence thus to intercede for wretches who have attempted to do him the greatest injury," and ordered the prisoners to be delivered over to him ‡.

Parting festivities.

The whole conditions of this treaty being finally

* Tar Bed f 183

† Zindau-Mehter-Suleimán See

Major Rawlinson's Journal as quoted

‡ Stewart's Jouher, p 72

arranged, Shah Tahmasp gave the Emperor a parting entertainment. It was celebrated with great splendour, and lasted three days. Nearly six hundred awnings, and twelve bands of music, were prepared and the whole ground was covered with carpets. The first day there was a magnificent banquet, and dresses of honour, and robes enriched with jewels were largely distributed. On the second day, the Shah placed the Emperor by his side, and pointing to the extensive field covered with a spreading camp, told him, that all that he saw, tents, horses, camels, carpets and every thing else, was his, with whatever besides he required, adding that he would send his son, with twelve thousand horse, to recover his dominions. When the whole train and cavalcade had passed in review, in splendid array, the Shah standing up and laying his hand on his breast, said, "O King Humáyun, if there is any defect, let your generosity excuse it."

The third day was devoted to a contest of shooting at the kebek. The night was devoted to a jovial party. Various liquors were put down, and bottles and goblets placed before each guest. No cupbearer was present. Every one filled his cup at his own pleasure. It was morning when the party broke up.

A little incident that occurred on the fourth day, when the camp was about to be broken up, and the two monarchs to separate, is extremely illustrative of the anxiety with which the Persians embrace every opportunity, in their mutual intercourse, to gain an advantage in point of form or etiquette. As Humáyun was completely in Shah Tahmasp's power, any show of respect to him would naturally rather have been ascribed to the Shah's generosity, than interpreted into a concession to the pretensions of the Indian prince. Yet when Humáyun, on this occasion, before setting out, went to take leave of Tahmasp, he found him seated on a small carpet folded up threefold under him,

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so as to prevent the possibility of any one sharing a portion of it Humáyun, when he alighted, seeing that there was no place for him, was about to seat himself on the ground Hâp Muhammed Kushikeh, a Moghul, observing this, took off the ornamented cover of his quiver, tore it open, and spread it out for his Majesty to sit on Humáyun, pleased with this attention, asked him who he was He answered, "A Moghul" "You will come into my service," said the Emperor "I am unworthy of that honour," replied the Moghul "My master is now in your Majesty's service Who am I? When he is promoted, I may hope to come in his place Till then, I am dust" He afterwards became a distinguished officer *

The twelve thousand cavalry that were to be placed under the nominal command of Sultan Mu'ad Mirza, the Shah's third son, then an infant, were Kizilbâshes of the Türkî tribes Bidâgh Khan Kajar was named his Atâlik † or Protector Shah-kuli Sultan Afshâr, the governor of Kermân, Ahmed Sultan Shamlu, the governor of Sîstân, his brother Husain-kuli, and a number of other officers and Amîrs, were ordered to co-operate The Shah told Humáyun that he would add three hundred Korchî Khâseh ‡ (of his own body-guard eunassiers), ready to obey any order of his Majesty, as if he had been then religious guide Meanwhile, the whole auxiliary force were allowed to go to their homes, in order to prepare themselves for meeting

* Joulher, p. 72

† Sulchî va Atulik

‡ Tar Alim-arai Abasi, f. 43 These Korchî were "beh rîsh-sefidî Kachel Shah, va Birdi Istajlo," i.e. had Kachel Shah and Birdi Istajlo for their grey-beards (or commanders) The chiefs of the Türkî and Afghân tribes are called Rîsh-sefid, or Grey-beards These troops being from Türkî tribes, their commanders

went by this national title The Osmauli troops are still divided into *kettles* or companies, because originally when they were fractions of tribes, each company had one kettle for cooking their food in common, a custom which they still observe and they attach the same point of honour to preserving their kettle, that regular troops do to preserving their colours

the Emperor, in due time, on the banks of the Helمند. The Emperor, having intimated a wish to visit Tabríz, and Ardcbíl, and their Holy Places, before setting out, sent back the Empress and family, and his camp, under the command of Háji Muhammed Khan Koka, towards Sebzáwír, on their way to Sistán, while he himself, with a few attendants, made a march of about four kos from Tíkhí e-Saleimán, on the route to Tabríz.

The Shah, who had now regained his good humour, asked the Emperor to give him an entertainment in his quarters in the Indian fashion, and to use the Indian cookery. A royal banquet was accordingly prepared, which seems to have begun with music, and strong drinks were early sent round. This was followed by a presentation of presents.* The Shah, having asked who should divide them, the Emperor told him, whoever he might name. The Shah imposed that task on Khwáji Moizem, the Empress Hamida's brother, who placed one tray of rare and valuable curiosities before the Shah, and another before the Emperor, the rest he divided to each according to his rank. The dinner followed, at which we are told that the Indian dish, *kicheri* †, unknown in Persia, was honoured with particular approbation. After dinner, the camp moved on to Miána ‡, while the Emperor accompanied the Shah, whose camp also moved forward, and after reaching his pavilion, remained there about an hour, to avoid a heavy fall of rain. When the rain ceased, Shah Tahmasp rose, and bidding God bless him, presented him with two apples and a knife, desired his brother Behráw Míza to attend him to his camp, and, taking a ring off his finger, and putting it on Hu-

* Sachek.

† "Among these foods," says Jouher, "the Hindustani rice-pilau mixed with dál, was approved of, for in that country they make their

pilau with hens' eggs bruised" Jouher.

‡ At Ardcbíl, a nephew (sister's son) of Tahmasp was betrothed to a daughter of Maasum Beg. Was this Khwaja Moazem?

BOOK V

A.D. 1541

Humáyun
prepares to
set out for
Kandahár

Humáyun's, they parted Humáyun and the Mírza, followed by a large suite, rode on. The Emperor, cutting one of the apples in two with the knife, presented one half to Bchám, in token of unceasing regard, and himself ate the other. When they came in sight of the Emperor's tent, the Mírza drew in his reins, and took leave. Humáyun presented him with a diamond ring, telling him it was a keepsake which he had got from his mother, and added many expressions of regard and esteem.*

The Emperor, now left to himself, travelled onwards, and visited Tabríz, Audebíl, the cradle of the Sefví family, and its tombs and holy places, especially the tombs of Sheikh Sefí, the ancestor of the race, and of Sheikh Ismáel the Shah's father, after which he returned back nearly to Kazvín. Here the Shah, who was on his way to that city from his summer quarters, observing his tents, inquired whose they were. Being told, he expressed his surprise that the Emperor was not yet gone, and sent to desire that he would make a march of twelve farsangs, about forty-five miles, without delay.

Humáyun rejoined his main camp at Sebzáwár, where he found that his wife Hamída Begum had given birth to a daughter. Having given directions for taking the Begum, with the camp and heavy baggage, by the direct road through the desert, by Tabas, he himself proceeded to revisit Meshhíd, where he again

* The state of moral feeling in Persia is strongly marked by an incident that occurred at Kíla Ders. Four horsemen who were seen to come from the desert, openly attacked and murdered Yákub Sefer-chi, the Emperor's butler. Being pursued and overtaken, they turned round and asked, "Why do you follow us? What we did was by orders of the Shah." It appears

that the Shah having made the Emperor a present of some swords, Hasan Ali, an Ishák-Agha, chamberlain, abstracted one of them. Yákub, having discovered this, informed the Emperor. Hasan Ali, in revenge, told the Shah, that Yakub had spoken contemptuously of the Persian *táj* or cap. Hence the order to murder him.

circumambulated the hallowed tomb of Imám Ali Reza, and received back the bow and bowstring that he had left suspended on the gates of the shrine, a circumstance which afforded him much delight, as a proof that the holy Imám was favourable to him. At Meshind he was detained about a week by a continued fall of snow when he went on to Tabas, whence he proceeded to Sistan, where he found the young prince, Sultan Murád Mirzá, and the royal troops assembled, and ready for action.

Here Humáyun must have seen, with no small pleasure his dependence on the court of Persia about to cease. The real circumstances of his reception in that country were very different from the representations of them that have been given by the official and general historians of Persia and India. "The reign of Tahmasp owes much of its celebrity," says the late historian of Persia, "to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Humáyun, when that monarch was forced to fly from India, and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have, in all ages, boasted of their hospitality, and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of the country to a superiority over others, in the exercise of this national virtue. The arrival of the fugitive Humáyun presented an opportunity of a very singular nature for the display of this noble quality, and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All the means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest, and they were liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne.

Remarks on
his treat-
ment by the
Shah,

* Akbarnáma, ff 56-61, Tab Abb f 157, Tar Niz f 195, Jouher, c 15-16, Bayezid, ff 10-12, Icrishá, vol ii pp 154-6, Khafi Khan. The narrative of the author

of the Tar Alim-Araz Abási, adds few circumstances to the narrative of the Indian historians, and chiefly adopts the views of Abulfazl, ff 42, 43.

BOOK V

A. D. 1544

Tahmasp merited the praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations, but his own feelings must have been gratified by the applause of his subjects, every one of whom felt elevated by the munificent hospitality with which his sovereign treated the fugitive Emperor of India " *

This eulogium of the eloquent and generous historian is founded on the representations of Abulfazl, Ferishta, and the writers who follow them, all of whom, in spite of some hints and unexplained allusions of Abulfazl and Nizám ed-dín Ahmed, agree in lauding the munificence and generosity of the Persian prince. But the simple narrative of honest Jouher at once destroys all these delusions. While it confirms the accounts of the external honour and parade with which Humáyun was received in his progress through the country, it presents a most unfavourable idea of his reception at court, and of the conduct and character of Shah Tahmasp himself. He seems to have been a haughty, narrow-minded, intolerant bigot †, intent, in every instance, on displaying, in the most ungenerous manner, his superiority over the

* Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. ii pp 508, 509

† "The bigoted attachment of this prince to his religion, was shown by his conduct to an English merchant, accredited by a letter from Queen Elizabeth. That great and active Sovereign, desirous of extending the commerce of her kingdom, encouraged Mr Anthony Jenkinson to visit the distant Court of Persia. An English writer states, that a pair of the king's slippers were sent to the envoy, lest his Christian feet should pollute the sacred carpet of the holy monarch, and that after he came to the presence, the first inquiry Tamasp made was, not regarding the object of the mission, but the belief of the ambassador,

whether he was a Gaur, or unbeliever, or a Mahomedan? The Englishman replied, he was neither an unbeliever, nor a Mahomedan, but a Christian, and added that he held Christ to be the greatest of prophets. The monarch, to whom he was deputed, said, that he was in no need of the aid of infidels, and bade him depart. He did so, and a man followed him from the hall of audience, till he was beyond the precincts of the court, sprinkling sand on the path he walked over an action which could only be meant to mark the sense which the Mahomedan prince had of the uncleanness of the person that he had suffered to approach him' —Malcolm's Persia, vol i pp 511—513

BOOK V
A D 1544

bility is, that the circumstances in which he was placed in Persia led him, at that time, to affect an approbation of the Shíá tenets, that he did not feel, and, in aftertimes, his pride may have prevented him from making such an explicit avowal of his religious sentiments, as was expected by the bigoted Sunnis, among whom the latter part of his life was chiefly spent

The proceedings of Humáyun in Sind and Persia may perhaps appear to have been detailed at too great length. But as some of them have been misunderstood, and others misrepresented by former writers, I have ventured to dwell upon them, for the purpose of giving what seemed to me a fairer and more correct idea of their real nature

CHAPTER III

HUMÁYUN IN AFGHANISTAN

SECTION I

HUMÁYUN'S CONQUEST OF KANDAHÁR AND KÁBUL — EXPEDITION TO BADAKHSHÁN

HUMÁYUN INVADES KANDAHÁR — AFFAIRS OF HIS BROTHERS — THE
 CLAIMS SUBMITTED TO HUMÁYUN — CAPTURE OF BIST — IRI-
 TATIONS OF KÁMRÁN — AKBAL REMOVED TO KÁBUL — SKIRMISH
 NEAR KANDAHAR — WHICH IS BESIEGED BY HUMÁYUN — MISSION OF
 BAHÁM KHAN TO KÁBUL — RESOLUTION OF KÁMRÁN — PROGRESS
 OF THE SIEGE OF KANDAHAR — DEFECTION OF KÁMRÁN'S CHIEF
 NOBLES — DISTRESS AND DESERTIONS IN THE GARRISON — SURROUNDING
 OF THE TOWN, WHICH IS GIVEN OVER TO THE SHAH'S OFFICIALS
 — FORTITUDE OF KÁMRÁN — AFFAIRS OF BADAKHSHÁN — ESCAPE
 OF YÁDGAR AND HINDAL — ISOLATION OF KÁMRÁN — DISSENSIONS
 BETWEEN THE HINDUS AND IMMIGRANTS — HUMÁYUN SUPPLIES
 HIMSELF WITH HORSES BY HUNTING — UNCERTAINTY OF HIS COUN-
 SELS — HE SEIZES KANDAHAR — DIVIDES THE DISTRICT AMONG HIS
 NOBLES — SETS OUT FOR KÁBUL — IS JOINED BY HINDAL, YÁDGAR,
 AND OTHERS — ADVANCE OF KÁMRÁN — DESERTIONS TO HUMÁYUN
 — KÁMRÁN SENDS AN EMBASSY — ESCAPES TO CHAGHT — HUMÁYUN
 OCCUPIES KÁBUL — AND RECOVERS AKBAL — KÁMRÁN FLIES TO SIND
 — CONGRATULATORY EMBASSIES TO HUMÁYUN — YÁDGAR MIRZA IMPRIS-
 ONED — HUMÁYUN SETS OUT FOR BADAKHSHÁN — YÁDGAR MIRZA
 PUT TO DEATH — THE ARMY OF BADAKHSHÁN DEFEATED BY HU-
 MÁYUN — THE COUNTRY SUBMITS — DANGEROUS ILLNESS OF HU-
 MÁYUN — KÁMRÁN RECOVERS KÁBUL — HUMÁYUN MARCHES ONCE
 MORE AGAINST IT

When Humáyun arrived in the province of Sístán, he found the Persian troops that had been sent to his assistance, cantoned over the country. They were

CHAP. III
 SECT. I

A. D. 1545
 Humáyun

BOOK V

A.D. 1545

Invades

Kandahár

nominally under the command of Murád Mírza, the third son of the king of Persia, and an infant of two or three years of age, but were in reality commanded by Bidágh Khan, of the Túrki tribe of Kajar, from which the present royal family of Persia is descended. Humáyun, in compliance with the wish of Shah Talimasp, as soon as he arrived, collected and reviewed the troops. He found them in high order, and instead of 12,000 cavalry, and 300 korchis, or royal horse-guards, that had been promised, the muster proved that they amounted to at least 14,000 horse. After remaining about a fortnight in Sístán, he put his troops in motion, and entered the dominions of his brother.*

Affairs of
his brothers.

It will be recollected that, at this time, Mírza Kám-rán held the undisputed possession of Kábul, Ghazni and Kandahár, on one side of the mountains, as well as of Badakhshán, Kunduz, Kishem and other provinces, beyond them. His brother Askeri was governor of Kandahár. Hindal, another of his brothers, who, after abandoning Humáyun in Sind, had been besieged and made prisoner in Kandahár, though nominally, perhaps, governor of Júi-Sháhi, was now under surveillance or free custody, and lived privately at the palace of his mother, Dildár Begum, at Kábul. Yádgár Násir Mírza, his cousin, who, as we have seen, had been compelled to leave Sind, was now also at Kábul, but suspected, and carefully watched.

It has been mentioned that Kám-rán, after his return from Hindustán, had marched to Badakhshán against Mírza Suleimán, who refused to acknowledge his authority, had defeated him, and deprived him of part of his dominions. No sooner, however, did Suleimán learn that Kám-rán had marched to besiege Hindal in Kábul, than he collected a force, and recovered the districts which had been separated from his princi-

* Akbernáma, f 61, Jouher, c 16

paltry This compelled Kámrán, on his return from Kándahán, to cross the Hindu-kúsh mountains a second time The hostile armies met at Anderáb Suleimán was again defeated, and took refuge in Kíla-Zefer, in which he was blockaded by Kámrán, to whom a great part of the territories of Badakhshán submitted After a brave defence, Suleimán was compelled by famine to surrender He was thrown into prison, along with his son Múza Ibráhím Kámrán appointed Kásim Birlás to be governor of Badakhshán, and, leaving with him a force supposed to be sufficient to maintain it in tranquillity, returned to Kábul, carrying with him the captive Mírzas For a whole month after his arrival, the city was in a state of continual festivity, and, from this period, he is said to have given himself up to indolence and voluptuous indulgence, paying little attention to the concerns of government, or to the complaints of his subjects *

CHAP. III
SECT. I.

A. H. 940,
A. D. 1542
Temáül II
17 Sept
28

Not were these the only royal personages whom he held in custody We have seen that when he parted from Humáyun near Khusháb, on the Jelem, he was met at Dinkot, on his way to the Indus, by Múmed Sultan Mírza, the grandson of the great Sultan of Herat, and by his sons, Ulugh Mírza and Múza As these princes had also become objects of suspicion, they had been kept out of employment, and now dragged on an idle life at Kábul

Nothing, therefore, could, to appearance, be more perilous than the situation of Kámrán But his character was unsocial, guarded by suspicion and jealousy, and by the affection even of those nearest to him He was a sovereign in whose success none of them felt a pleasure and a pride, as if it were their own, and it rested, therefore, on a narrow and a sandy foundation As Humáyun, advancing from Sístán, entered the

The German
sur-rendered

* Akbernama, ff 55, 56, Tab Akb f 154

BOOK V

dominions of Kámrán, he was met near Laki, a fort on the right bank of the Helمند, by Abdal Hai, the governor of the Germśir, who approached him as a suppliant, wrapped in his winding sheet, with his quiver hanging from his neck, asked forgiveness for his former undutiful conduct, and surrendered the province into his hands. He was graciously received, and honoured with a command.

Capture of
Bist.

A detachment was now sent, under Alı Sultan Taklu, one of the auxiliary chiefs, to reduce the important city and fort of Bist, which lies near the confluence of the Arghandáb with the Helمند, and is the chief city and the key of the Zemín-dáwer. The Persian general having been killed by a matchlock shot soon after the siege began, his followers, who were Túrks of the Taklu tribe, placed his son, a boy of twelve years of age, in the command, and carried on the siege with renewed vigour. The place was soon compelled to surrender, when the principal officers, and most of the soldiers of the garrison, joined Humáyun.

Prepara-
tions of
Kámrán

Kámrán, who had long dreaded an invasion from the territories of Persia, had placed all his frontier fortresses in a state of defence. On hearing of the Emperor's return towards Sístán, his first concern was to remove the infant Akber, Humáyun's only son, from Kandahár, where he still remained under the care of Askeri's wife, and of the nurses and household appointed by his father, and to bring him to Kábul. For that purpose he despatched one of his confidential officers, accompanied by a brother of Khizer Khan, the great Hazára chief, to bring the young prince from the castle of Kandahár. When they reached that place, and had explained the object of their mission, they found Mírza Askeri's ministers divided in opinion as to the policy of giving him up. Some advised that the child, attended by an honourable retinue, should be sent back to his father, who had now arrived on the

He removes
Akber to
Kábul.

frontier, as being the best means of conciliating the injured and offended Emperor, while others maintained that things had gone too far for Askern to think of obtaining any sincere forgiveness, and that, therefore, the great object now was not to throw away the favour of Kámrán. This advice prevailed, and though it was already the depth of winter, which in that country is particularly severe, the infant prince, and his sister, Bakhshi-bánu Begum, were sent off for Kábul, in the midst of rain and snow *

Kámrán was apprehensive of a rescue, on which account he had selected a chief of the Hazáras to conduct the party, as the road between Kandahái and Ghazni was partly inhabited, and had always been infested, by robbers of that tribe. That the princes might not be known on the road, Akber was addressed as Mírak, the princess as Bacheh †. On reaching Kílát, the party passed the night at the house of a Hazára. But the prince's rank was not easily concealed by attendants, who adored him, and, next morning, the master of the house expressed his persuasion that the child under his roof must be the young Akber. Khizer Khan's brother, on hearing these suspicions of his host, lost no time in resuming his journey, and hurried on to Ghazni, whence, without delay, the infant prince was conveyed to Kábul, where he was lodged with his grand-aunt Khanzáda Begum, the favourite sister of

* The nurses and other personal attendants who were with the young prince at this time, continued in his service for some years, and, in the next reign, both they and their children rose to high distinction. The two nurses were Mahum Anka, the mother of Adam Khan, and Jji Anka, the mother of Mír Aziz Kokiltash. The whole household was under the superintendence of Shems-ed-din Muhammed Ghaznevi, the

husband of Jji Anka, and a man of talent, who afterwards made a figure in history, by the title of Atka Khan. It was he who helped to save Humayun from the Ganges, after his defeat near Kanauj. "Anka" signifies a nurse, "Atka" a nurse's husband. Their children are "kokiltashes."

† These terms signify "the young Mir," and "the child."

BOOK V

A D 1545

Skirmish
near Kandahár,Moharrem
2 March
16which is
besieged by
Humayun
Moharrem
7 March
21

Báber, by whom he was watched with the tenderest care *

Meanwhile a report having reached Humáyun on the Helمند, that Mírza Askeri was about to leave Kandahár, and to flee with all his treasure to Kábul, he pushed forward a strong party, composed partly of his Persian auxiliaries, partly of his own adherents, that he might either prevent his leaving the place, or overtake him, should he have escaped. The news proved to be false, but the party, having vauntingly approached too near the town, were received with a discharge of artillery by which many of them were killed and wounded. Mír Jemíl, one of the chief officers of the garrison, and brother of Bápus, a chief of great distinction, sallied out to improve this advantage, and was so successful, that he sent back to assure Askeri, that if he would lead out to his assistance the remaining force that was in the castle, the enemy must be completely routed. Askeri, however, supposing that the confusion was only a feint on the part of the invaders to lead him into an ambuscade, declined to move, so that the allied troops were enabled to draw off and effect their retreat, though with very considerable loss.

Five days after this affair, the Emperor reached the vicinity of Kandahár. He immediately proceeded to mark out the ground for the trenches and batteries, the charge of which he assigned to different officers. As the garrison was very strong, there were daily skirmishes and single combats, in sight of the two armies, and severe losses were sustained on both sides. The siege drew out into length, and the imperial camp began to suffer from scarcity of provisions. Just at that time they received intelligence that Rafia, a foster-brother of Kámrán, was encamped behind a hill that

* Akbernáma, f 62

† Akbernáma, f 63, Tar Ní-

zámi, ff 195, 196, Tar Bed f 183,

Jouher, c. 17

lay on the banks of the Argandáb, towards Zemín-dáwer, with a large body of Hazáras and Nukderis, whom he had collected. Bīram Khan, having marched with a detachment of Persian auxiliaries and of the Emperor's adherents, came upon them by surprise, and, after a short action, in which Rafiā was taken and his force dispersed, gained possession of the camp, and returned back in triumph, with a large provision of stores, arms, grain and cattle found in it. This, for a time, restored abundance within their own lines.

CHAP. III.
ECT. I

As, however, the garrison still held out obstinately, Humáyun, apprehensive of the result, and anxious to bring Kámrán to any reasonable terms, resolved to despatch Bīram Khan as his ambassador to Kábul. When that brave and able man reached the pass of Roghūn and Abistáda, on his way to Ghazni, he was assailed towards nightfall by a band of Hazáras who blocked up the road. He attacked them without hesitation, and, after a sharp combat, forced a passage, and slew several of their number. As he approached Kábul, he was met with much ceremony by a procession of men of note, and Kámrán gave him an entertainment at the Charbágh palace, where he delivered his credentials. He was allowed to see the young Akber, at the palace of Khanzáda Begum. This was natural, but he was also permitted to visit Hindal Mírza, who was in a kind of free custody at his mother Dildár Begum's house, and Suleimán Mírza, the prince of Badakhshán, and his son Ibrahim Mírza, though detained as prisoners outside of the fort, were brought to the Shehr-árá gardens to meet him. He also waited upon Yádgár Násir Mírza and Ulugh Mírza, attended indeed, as in the former instances, by confidential persons appointed by Kámrán to watch him. Yet he contrived not only to deliver letters, presents and messages from the Emperor to most of them, but was able to remove their apprehensions, and to prepare

Mission of
Bīram Khan
to Kábul

BOOK V

A D 1545

Irresolution
of Kámrán

them for attempting to escape, and to return to their allegiance to Humáyun. He, in like manner, employed his insinuating eloquence with many of the chief nobles about the court, and led them not only to expect pardon, but to indulge in hopes very favourable to their future fortunes, if they joined the Emperor. During all this time, Kámrán was agitated by contending passions, and quite unable to make up his mind to any decided line of action. He saw that he was unable to bring into the field an army that could cope with that of Humáyun, supported as he was by his Persian auxiliaries, but he continued to procrastinate, not resolute to resist his brother, but, at the same time, not willing to resign his own power. At last, after having detained Bīram Khan six weeks in Kandahár, he consented to his taking leave, and sent under his escort Khanzáda Begum, professedly to prevail upon Askarī to give up Kandahár, as it was pretended that that prince would not obey Kámrán's order, but really to encourage him in his defence by the hope of relief, or, should he fall into the hands of his offended sovereign, at least to secure his pardon by her influence with the Emperor.*

Progress of
the siege of
Kandahár

The siege of Kandahár, meanwhile, went on but slowly. The place was strong, and Mīrza Askarī was indefatigable in his exertions. The danger reasonably to be apprehended from treachery in such a civil war he obviated by constantly shifting the posts of the garrison, and keeping all on the alert. At the beginning of the siege, the confederate army had attacked the place with much ardour. But the siege had been long, and their losses considerable. The Kizelbáshes had entertained hopes that, as soon as Humáyun, the son and heir of the great Báber, entered the territory of his father, the whole of the Cabghatái nobles and tribesmen would flock to his standard. They now found themselves disappointed, as not a man of note

* Akbernáma, f 64, 1ar Niz f 196

had yet repaired to his camp, and there was no appearance of revolt in his favour in any part of the country. They saw no prospect of final success, so that the Persian leaders, disgusted with the service, and serving unwillingly under a foreign general, began to talk of returning home, as from a fruitless enterprise. Alarmed at a state of feeling so fatal to all his hopes, Humáyun made some desperate efforts, and one night, by a resolute advance from head-quarters, effected a lodgment, and erected a battery within a stone cast of the old town. The Kizelbáshes, roused by this able and gallant operation, pushed forward on their side, and nearer approaches were made everywhere. Askeri, filled with apprehension, asked for a cessation of hostilities, till the arrival of Khanzáda Begum, who was known to be then on her way to Kandahár, and in whose mediation he professed to place great reliance.

In consequence of these negotiations, Humáyun, rather imprudently, relaxed his operations for some days, which Askeri employed, with unabating industry, in repairing the works that had been injured, and in adding new ones. On Biram Khan's arrival, Khanzáda Begum was allowed to enter the fort, that she might prevail upon her nephew to surrender. But this he refused to do, and she was not, or pretended that she was not, permitted to leave the castle. The siege was resumed with redoubled vigour.

At this crisis, however, the affairs of Humáyun began to assume a more favourable aspect. Intelligence arrived that Kámrán, who had advanced to relieve the place, had retreated, and the effects of Biram Khan's residence at Kábul also became manifest. Ulugh Míza, the son of Muhammed Sultan Mirza, has been mentioned as one of the princes whom Kámrán kept in a kind of state custody at Kábul, for more security changing his keeper weekly. In the

Defection
of Kám-
rán's chief
nobles

BOOK V

A D 1545

course of these changes the Mírza came into the custody of Shír-efken Beg, who himself had some reason to be displeased with Kámrán. A plan for escape was formed between the prisoner and his keeper, in which Fazıl Beg, Monaim Beg's brother, Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek, and other chiefs of distinction, were led to take a part. They set out together privately from Kábul, and after many fatigues they all joined Humáyun, except Kásim Husein, who, having separated from them in a dark night, had lost his way among the hills, and fell into the hands of some Hazára banditti. But he also came in, a few days afterwards, on foot, weary, plundered and half naked. All the fugitives were heartily welcomed, and placed in commands. Not long after, Dawa Beg, a Hazára chief, declared for Humáyun, and joined him with a part of his tribe, and, ere long, letters were received from many of the leading men of Kábul, full of protestations of attachment. These events spread joy over the camp, and re-animated the wavering Kızılbaşes, who now redoubled their exertions against the beleaguered town.

Distress and
desertions
in the gar-
rison

In proportion as the spirits of the besiegers rose, the hopes of the besieged declined. Regular information of what passed in the town was obtained by means of letters fixed to arrows, which were daily shot into the camp. By them the besiegers were encouraged to go on, the garrison being represented as reduced to extremity. Such, indeed, was at length the general distress, that many of the garrison, not only soldiers and artillerymen, but even officers and men of rank, began to desert, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes. Khizer Khan, the great Hazára chief, among others, despairing of a successful resistance, leaped from one of the battlements, and was received below by some of his faithful tribesmen, and carried off on their shoulders to a hill in the neighbourhood*. The escape

* Koh lila

of a man of so much importance was known in the camp early next morning, and he was pursued. He hid himself in the hole of a rock, close to which his pursuers passed. One of them had hold of the skirt of his cloth, which was probably made of the skin of some animal. He drew it in, retuning his breath, and his pursuers, thinking it had been the tail of some wild beast, passed on. On the approach of night, he crept from under his rock, and succeeded in gaining a place of safety.*

Deserted by his garrison, his officers, and even his nobles, Askeri could no longer hope to preserve Kandahar, and therefore, began to take measures for his personal safety. He sent his aunt Khanzidi to Humayun, and through her, after the siege had lasted upwards of five months, a surrender was negotiated. On the 3rd of September A.D. 1545, he left the fort in the train of the Begum, on foot, attired as a suppliant, and according to the custom of the time, having a sword suspended from his neck, and was conducted by Baran Khan into the presence of the Emperor, who received him sitting in state in his Darbar, surrounded by his Chighians and Kizilbashes. The Emperor, from respect to the intercession of the Begum, and the near relationship of the offender, desired the sword to be taken from his neck, and, after Askeri had made his submission, commanded him to be scolded. He was followed by Kamran's chief Amirs and officers, to the number of thirty, who were brought in with their swords and quivers hanging from their necks, and their winding sheets in their hands. Some were consigned to prison, others were released. A grand feast succeeded, in which the occurrences of the siege were talked over, and, with the usual appliances of music

CHAP. III
SECT. I

Surrender
of the
town

Thursday
Jemali 11
20 Sept. 3

* Akbernama, ff 64, 65. Tab. † The Tar Beduni has three
Alb. f 158, Tar Bed f 187. months

BOOK V
A D 1545

and wine, the party was prolonged till the morning light. When the general enjoyment was at its height, and even the Mírza had forgotten his care, one of Humáyun's attendants placed some papers before him. In a moment the Mírza's countenance changed, his gaiety was gone. They were the letters which he had addressed to the chiefs of the Balúches, and of the other tribes, when the Emperor was crossing the desert, and their contents left no doubt of the full extent of his evil disposition. The wretched prince was ordered to be detained in custody, but to be brought to court from time to time, that he might visit the Emperor *.

Jemádí II
26 Sept 4

Next day Humáyun, accompanied by the chief Persian officers, entered the fort. Bidágh Khan claimed that the fort and all that it contained, especially Askeri Mírza and the treasure, should be made over to his master, in terms of the treaty. The Emperor expressed his readiness to give up the fort and its stores, but refused to surrender Askeri, and denied the Shah's right to the treasure, but, at the same time, expressed his readiness to present it to the Persian monarch, as a gift. He waited to see the treasure-chests brought out and examined, and after they had been closed and sealed with his seal, and that of the chief Persian commanders, he returned to the camp. Even already, mutual jealousies and fears had begun to prevail. Under the influence of these, the Kizelbáshes lost no time in sending off the treasure to prevent any attempt to seize it. They persisted in demanding that Askeri Mírza should be given up to them, as a hostage for their safe return, and even threatened to seize him by force. The Emperor, alarmed at a pretension which might have been fatal to his repose, at once to secure his prisoner, and to make a demonstration of his own force, collected

* Akbernama, f 65, Briggs's *Ferishta*, pp 157, 158, Tab Alb f 158, Tar Bed f 183

the whole of his old followers, and the adherents by whom he had been recently joined, divided them into troops, and reviewed them under arms. This alarmed the Persians, who saw his rising power with suspicion and dread, but they no longer persisted in their demand. The Chaghatáis, and such of the townspeople as chose to leave the place, had three days allowed them in terms of the capitulation, during which they could leave it uninjured, with their wives and families. On the fourth, it was given up by Humáyun to the prince Muhammed Murád Mirza in conformity to his treaty with the Shah, while the Emperor himself moved to some distance, and took up his head-quarters at the Chárbágh of Báber*, on the banks of the Arghandáb, where he enjoyed himself for some time after his fatigues, receiving daily accessions of number from the adjoining provinces †

CHAP III
SECT I

It is given
over to the
Shah's
officers

The news of the fall of Kandahár, and the probability of the speedy approach of the imperial army to attack Kábul, distressed and confounded Kámrán. He ordered the young prince Akber to be removed from the palace of Khánzáda Begum to his own, and committed him to the care of Kuch Kilán, throwing into prison the former faithful guardian of his infancy, Shems-ed-dín Muhammed Ghiznevi, better known as Atka Khan. He held a council to concert the measures of precaution required by the crisis, especially as to Badakhshán, in which quarter he was apprehensive of troubles. Abdal Khalik, who had been his tutor, and Bápus, a nobleman who seems, at this time, to have been his chief minister, advised him to conciliate Suleimán Mirza, the late ruler of that country, now his prisoner, and to restore him to his government, by which means he might secure both his friendship and co-operation. Fortunately for Suleimán, Mír Nazer Ali, and some

Perplexity
of Kámrán.

Affairs of
Badakh-
shan

* The Khulja Bagh Jouher

† Akbernama, f 65, Jouher,
c 17

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other nobles of Badakhshán, who were discontented with the existing government, had, a short time before, formed a conspiracy, and succeeded in surprising Kila-Zefer. They had also taken prisoners Kásim Birlás, Kámrán's governor, and the other officers left by him in charge of the country, of whose conduct they loudly complained. At the same time, however, they wrote to inform Kámrán, that they had no wish to renounce his authority, that, if he would send back Míza Suleimán, they would place the country in his hands, but, should he refuse, that they would put their prisoners to death, and surrender the kingdom to the Uzbeks. Kámrán, alarmed at this danger, thought it prudent to comply with their request, and accordingly released the Mírza, who, soon after, set out to return home, accompanied by his son Ibráhím Mírza, and his mother, Khurram Begum. But they had only reached Pái-Mínár, a populous village not far from Kábul, at the bottom of the hills, when Kámrán, repenting the step he had taken, despatched a messenger to recall the Mírza, pretending that he had some important information to communicate at a personal interview, after which he might resume his journey. Suleimán, justly suspicious of the object of this sudden recall, returned for answer, that as he had taken leave in what the stars had indicated as a propitious moment, he was unwilling, by any retrograde movement, to destroy the efficacy of this fortunate conjunction, but that, whatever commands the king might be pleased to honour him with, should receive the most implicit obedience. Without loss of time, he then hurried forward to Badakhshán, where he seized the reins of government, and speedily forgot his treaty and his promises *

Escape of
Yádgar and
Hindal

During the distraction caused by these proceedings, Yádgar Násir Mírza found means to escape from the

* Akbarnama, f 65

custody in which he was detained, so that of all the Mírzas, his relations, who had lately been in Kámrán's court, none was left, but his brother Hindal Mírza alone. Him he now found it convenient to flatter and soothe, and he was not sparing of promises to bring him over heartily to his interest. Hindal, dissembling, appeared to be the dupe of all his protestations. It was settled that he was to be admitted into a partnership in the kingdom, and that one-third of all that Kámrán then possessed, or that the princes might thereafter, by their joint efforts, acquire, was to be assigned to him. This agreement being concluded, Hindal was sent after Yádgár, with whom he had always been intimately connected, that he might compel, or prevail upon him, to return back. But no sooner had he reached Pái-Minár, than, finding himself safe among the mountains and defiles of the Hindu-kúsh range, he turned away to the west-ward, and like those who had preceded him, set out to join Humáyun.

The desertion of the last prince of the imperial blood who had been left with him, and of so many Amirs as accompanied them, threw Kámrán, for a time, into a state of deep dejection. The apparent facility with which so many princes, who had been guarded as prisoners with so much jealousy, effected their escape, is inexplicable, except on the supposition that Kámrán had become unpopular with his Amirs. He now complained that he felt himself forsaken, and had not one being in the world, in whose counsel he could trust, or on whose fidelity he could rely. His temper was not such as to invite frank or unpleasant communications. In his prosperity, he had been surrounded by flatterers, who had cherished his self-conceit by their base and selfish adulation. In his adversity, in spite of the change of circumstances, he listened with such impatience to a different language, that it was dangerous to use it, and those who were disposed to offer

Isolation of
Kámrán.

BOOK V

A. D. 1545

him sound counsel, were deterred, no less by the immediate danger of the task, than by their want of confidence in his ultimate firmness and prudence in acting on their advice. He was thus left without any safe or honest friend, and, committing error after error, the numbers of his adherents daily diminished, and the moral influence of his government was totally gone.*

Humáyun, after the surrender of Kandahár, was desirous to have pursued his success, and at once to have marched against Kábul, but found his army too weak to venture on such an enterprise. The Persians considered the whole object of the expedition to have been attained, with the occupation of Kandahár. By that event a new kingdom was conquered for the Shah. The Turkomán and Kizelbásh Amírs, fatigued with the long campaign so far from their own country, had returned home, some with, others without leave, so that hardly any but Bidágh Khan, Abul Fateh Sultan Afshái, and Súfi Wáli Sultan, were left to support the young prince Murád, and they showed no disposition to march farther, in support of a foreign prince. With a total want of good faith, and an entire blindness to the future, they displayed, however, sufficient activity in harassing their new subjects, who hated them as foreigners and oppressors, and detested them as heretics. Complaints from persons of every rank were daily brought to the Emperor, who was unable to afford any redress. He had left the immediate vicinity of Kandahár, and advanced first to Hasan-Abdál, and next to the Gumbaz-Sufeid. The Kizelbáshes, now as jealous of their allies as of Kámrán, and desirous that they should move away to a still greater distance, took measures to cut off their supply of provisions. In spite of the season, for winter was at hand, and the Chaghataís complained loudly of the severity of the cold, it became necessary again to move, and the Persians

isensions
between the
Persians
and Impe-
rialists

refused to allow them either to winter in the town, or to hut themselves in the vicinity of Kandahár. But no movement could be made without horses or draught cattle, which they did not possess *

CHAP III
SECT 1

About this time, a certain proportion of the Persian troops having been placed in garrison in the fort, their horses were sold to some merchants, who intended to convey them to India, and were then picketed on the outside of the town. These Humáyun, urged by his necessities, resolved to seize. Leaving his camp at Sufeid Gumbaz, he himself moved to Bába Hasan Abdál, whence, after mid-day prayers, he pushed forward a strong detachment, who, before afternoon prayers, reached Kandahár, came upon the merchants by surprise, and carried off to his camp seventeen hundred horses, which, after supplying the wants of himself and of his household, he divided among his followers. The merchants to whom they belonged, waiting upon the Emperor with their complaints, could get no redress or compensation, but his bond for the full price, to be paid when the state of his affairs allowed, a security not likely to be negotiable in the bazar, either at Kandahar or Delhi.

Humáyun
supplies
himself
with horses
by plunder

Still, however, it was difficult to put the army in motion, as the season was severe, and Humáyun possessed no place of strength, in which the wives and families of himself and his followers could be left in safety. To obviate this difficulty, he besought Bidágh Khan to appropriate a few houses in Kandahár for their reception, a request, however, with which the Khan declined to comply.

This delay was attended with disagreeable consequences. The confidence in Humáyun's fortune, which his troops had entertained, began to fail. Several of Kámrán's officers, who had been in Kandahár, but had subsequently entered the Emperor's service, escaped

Uncertainty
of his coun-
sels

BOOK V

A D 1545

from the camp, and fled to Kábul * The scarcity went on increasing It was now seriously proposed by some of Humáyun's Amírs, to hazard every thing, to make an attempt to surprise Kandahár, and, if successful, to justify their conduct to the Shah in the best way they could, and engage to restore it to him as soon as the Emperor had gained possession of Kábul and Badakhshán From following this plan he was diverted by some of his council, who argued that, should the attempt be made and fail, he lost both Kandahár and the Shah, whom he thus converted into an open enemy, in which case he would be left without one ally, or place of refuge, in the world Another proposal made at this trying moment was, to pass over into Badakhshán and there join Sulcimán Mírza But the difficulty of a winter march among the mountains and defiles of the Hazáras and Aínáks, in crossing the Paropamisán range, joined to the total want of a place of security, in which to lodge their families and baggage which they must leave behind, made them abandon that idea as quite hopeless

He seizes
Kandahár

Just at this crisis, Muhammed Murád Mírza, the young Persian prince, died Those who had charge of him being desirous to conceal this event, no notice of it was sent to Humáyun, to whom, however, the news was secretly conveyed As, by this change of circumstances, the co-operation of the Persian auxiliaries seemed to become more doubtful than ever, while one obstacle of delicacy was removed, Humáyun, in despair, returned to the idea of gaining Kandahár in any way, trusting to be able to justify the act to the Shah after it was done

This plan was warmly supported by Háji Muhammed Khan Koka † The Emperor, while he objected to any

* Among these were Abdalla Khan and Jamíl Beg

† He was the son of Bába

Kushkeh, a man who made a figure in Báber's time

open attack, was willing to get possession of the town, could it be carried by stratagem. This Háji Muhammed undertook to effect. Accordingly, in furtherance of the plan, notice was sent to Bidagh Khan, that the army was on the point of marching for Kábul, but that, as the Emperor wished to be free from the trouble and risk of carrying Askeri Mirza along with him, he was desirous of leaving him in safe custody in Kandahár. Bidagh Khan, who had all along earnestly desired to have the Mirza in his power, agreed without hesitation. This preliminary step being arranged, various parties were sent from the camp by night to different sides of the town, especially to three of the principal gates. About dawn, Háji Muhammed, who led the first division, leaving his ambuscade, attended by a few servants only, contrived to enter one of the gates, along with a string of camels that were carrying hay and provender, at that early hour, into the town. The officer at the gate challenged them, and insisted on turning them back, no Chaghátái having for some days been allowed to enter. Háji Muhammed maintained that he came by Bidagh Khan's permission, to bring into the fort Askeri Mirza, who was to be left there. This story produced no effect on the officer, who proceeded to shut the gate and turn him out upon which Háji Muhammed, drawing his sword, attacked him, and cut off his arm. The Háji's followers, who were close at hand, now rushed in, but were bravely opposed by such of the Persians as ran to the spot on hearing the uproar, and a sharp conflict ensued, which continued till Ulugh Mirza and Birám Khan, having effected an entrance at another gate, came to the assistance of their friends. The Kizelbáshes, overpowered, retreated into the citadel. Such as remained behind in the town were pursued, and put to death by the enraged citizens. About noon, Humáyun himself made his entry into the city, and was received with shouts of joy. He sent

BOOK V
A. D. 1545

to inform Bidágh Khan, that the measures, which he had unwillingly taken, had been rendered necessary by that nobleman's unjustifiable conduct in concealing the death of the young prince Murád Mírza, who, Humáyun alleged, had been entrusted to his care, and by other unfriendly acts Bidágh Khan, who was not prepared to sustain a siege, having, in the course of the night, thrown down a part of the back wall of the citadel, marched off un molested towards his own country, loudly expressing his indignation at the treachery and ingratitude of his allies. Bírám Khan was appointed governor of Kandahái, and ambassadors were sent to Shah Tahmasp, to assure him that, though Bidágh Khan, having acted contrary to his Majesty's intention, had been dismissed from the command, his faithful subject Bírám Khan, who had succeeded him, was ready to obey all the orders of his master, the Shah. Tahmasp seems to have found it prudent to acquiesce in this arrangement, and a number of the regular Persian troops, especially the Korchis, continued in the Emperor's service.*

Divides the
district
among his
nobles.

Humáyun, thus master of the kingdom of Kandahái, proceeded to divide its different provinces among his adherents. The Zemín-dáwer he bestowed on Ismáel Beg, Kulát, on Shír-efken Beg, Shál, on Haider Sultan, who died soon after, the district of Tírí, which lies among the Hazára hills on the Helمند, on Ulugh Mírza, except some districts of it, the revenues of which he bestowed, by way of pension, on Háji Muhammed †. To some of his followers he gave jágírs, to others, according to a custom of the times, he gave up some of the richest and most obnoxious of his prisoners,

* Akbarnama, f 66 Tar Niz ff 196, 197 Tar Bed ff 183, 184, Jouher, c 17, 18, Bavezid, ff 16—18, Ferishti, vol II pp 157—159

† Some of these assignments would appear to have been made at rather a later period

from whom he allowed them to extort such sums as they could, which was often done by cruel severities

CHAP. III
SECT. I

While the minds of the Emperor and his chief officers were engrossed by these proceedings, Askari Mirza contrived to escape. A few days afterwards an Afghán arrived in the city, and gave secret notice that the Mirza was concealed in his house, but, with that regard to external appearances which, with some of the Afghán tribes, seems to constitute their point of honour, far more than substantial fidelity besought the Emperor to seize the fugitive prince in such a way that the informer might not be compromised, as privy to his being retaken. The Emperor accordingly sent Shah Mirza, and Khwájá Ambar, his steward, who took the unhappy Mirza from under a mattress, beneath which he was hidden, and brought him to the presence. Humáyun spared his life, we are told, from his desire to conform to the dying advice of his father Bábar, to be merciful to all, but especially to his brothers, and gave him into the custody of Nidm Kokiltash, one of the confidential servants of his household.*

The Emperor, now possessed of a place of strength had become master of his movements, and was eager that no time should be lost. Leaving his own family, and the families of his followers, in the citadel of Kandahár, though winter had arrived, he set out for Kábul, but, instead of taking the more open road of Kilát and Ghazni, these towns not having yet come into his power, he followed the course of the Helمند, which, penetrating through the hill-country, leads to the high mountains of the Koh-Bába, close upon Kábul. When

Sets out for
Kábul

* Akbarnama, &c. as above. Abulfazl places the acquisition of the Turkoman horses at this time, and makes the heads of the caravan, afraid of being plundered, voluntarily offer them, on condition of getting bonds to be paid, when the

Emperor conquered Hindustan, to which he consented. This, no doubt, is a sort of official representation. The ewer-bearer's account, however, is the more probable one, and he was, at the time, with the Emperor

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A D 1545

Is joined
by Hindal,
Yádgár and
others.

the army arrived near Tíri, Dawa Beg, the Hazára chief who had lately acknowledged him, and whose clan inhabited the neighbouring districts, met him with his tribe, all the headmen bringing horses and cattle, which they presented to the Emperor, and, as the country around had many fine straths and valleys, a halt of some days was made, to restore the health of the army, which had suffered in the unhealthy climate of Kandahár. Here Khanzáda Begum, his aunt, and Báber's favourite sister paid the debt of nature. Here also Yádgár Násir Mírza, with Monaim Beg, and soon after Hindal Mírza and Terdí Beg, who had escaped from Kábul, as has been mentioned, joined the Emperor. Their arrival excited much joy, and was followed by that of many others, both Amírs and soldiers, who now hastened to return to their allegiance.

The army once more moved forward, but, in the course of its march, was again attacked with sickness, and numbers died. This induced Hindal to propose in council, that the army should return to Kandahár for the winter, and that early in the spring, when all the necessary stores and munitions of war were in readiness, it should commence its march in full strength upon Kábul. The Emperor made no remark while the council was sitting, but having, probably, become sensible that, in the former part of his reign, he had given too much license to his brothers, after it was over, he sent him a verbal message, through Mí Syed Birkeli, to intimate that he had begun his march for Kábul before he had heard of the escape of Yádgár Násir Mírza, or of Hindal's intention to join him, that he had since seen nothing to make him change his plan, for, as to hardships, they were inseparable from war, that if the Mírza needed repose, the Zemín-dáwer was at his service for the winter, and that, in the spring, he might join the imperial array, after the war was over. The Mírza apologized for his indiscretion, and promised

BOOK V

A.D. 1545

Desertions
to Humá
yun

As there was now the near prospect of a battle, Mírza Hindal asked, and got permission, to lead the van

The imperial army, having cleared the defile of Khwája Pushteh, halted in the territory of Arkendi. Here Bápus, one of the chief Amírs of Kábul, was brought by his brother Jamíl, and Shah-berdi Khan, who held the districts of Gurdíz, Bangash, and Naghz, also arrived and joined the imperial camp. They were joyfully received. Every night parties deserted from the Mírza's army, and joined the Emperor. Bápus strongly urged Humáyun to push on without delay, while the general sentiment was so strong in his favour, and the enemy, from the daily desertions, knew not whom to trust.

Kámrán
sends an
Embassy

Kámrán Mírza, now equally alarmed at the hostile demonstrations of the enemy, and the defection of his own followers, found himself compelled to devise means to gain time. He sent forward two men, respectable for their sacred character, who were instructed to make humble offers of submission on his part, and to entreat the Emperor to cease from active operations. They met Humáyun, when he was scarcely a mile from the enemy's camp, and prevailed upon him to halt. But soon after, suspecting that Kámrán's sole object in opening this negociation, was to gain time for effecting his escape, he advanced towards the Mírza's camp with seven hundred lancers. As he rode along, he was met by Mosálub Beg, the son of Khwája Kilán Beg, Kámrán's Amír-al-omra, at the head of a procession of all the other Amírs of Kámrán Mírza, who came to make his own submission, and to offer their's. Their submission was accepted, but, as it was so tardy, they were not admitted to the presence, and were subjected to fines.

Escapes to
Ghazni

On reaching the camp, Humáyun found that Kámrán had escaped into the citadel of Kábul, that his

* Nim-kos, half a kos

troops were in confusion, and beginning to break up; and that numbers had already fled. Kámirán did not venture to remain long in the citadel, but some hours after sun-set, when it was dark, taking along with him his son Mírza Ibáhlím, his wives and family, made his escape, and took the Paní-Hissár road towards Ghazni. Humáyun sent Bápus, with a body of his most trusty men, to occupy Kábul, and to preserve it from pillage, and, when afterwards informed of Kámirán's flight, he despatched Mírza Hindal to pursue him. He himself entered Kábul on the evening on the 10th of Ramzán* (Nov 15th), in the midst of a general illumination, and was delighted once more to embrace his son Akber, now about three years of age, whom he found in perfect health. The Bála-Hissár, or Citadel, made

CHAP III
SECT I

Humáyun
occupies
Kábul

Ramzán 10
Nov 15

And re-
covers Ak-
ber

* There is some difference as to this date. Amlfazi has, the eve of Wednesday, Ramzán 12 or 952, but the *Lar Bed* and *Firishá* make it Ramzán 10 or 952. Bavezid has Ramzán 10 or 953. The *Tabakat-e Akberi* has "Ramzán 10 or 952 or 953, God knows which." Jouher gives a lively account of Humáyun's proceedings on entering the Bála Hissár, and arriving at the palace of Kamran. "As one watch of the night was past, and his Majesty had not yet broken his fast, he desired Wasil, the keeper of the wardrobe*, to make a plate of warm soup (ash) be brought, but soon recollecting himself, he bid him go to the palace of the Bibi, as Baike Begum was called, and bring him some broth, if there was any. Michter Wasil, and the humble Jouher, went, and, after paying their respects delivered the message, that, as his Majesty had yet eaten nothing he requested that some food might be sent him, if there was any. That lady gave a

curry of beef, and a sirawal of cow's tripe that happened to be ready dressed. No sooner did his Majesty put his spoon into the dishes, and see that they were beef-curry and cow's tripe, than, laying down the spoon, and sighing, he burst into a complaint, exclaiming 'O Mírza Kamran! and had you indeed come to such a length, as to make the fare of Bibí Jiu, this asylum of chastity, to be only cow's flesh, and cow's stomach? Could you not have reserved one single sheep for her in your kitchen? And yet this asylum of chastity is the very person who brought here the bones of our venerated father, and placed them in his tomb. Could not we, four sons of him whose abode is in heaven, have done something better among us?' In a word, he drank a single cup of sherbet, and put off breaking his fast till the morrow." Jouher c 19. Burnes informs us that, in Turkistán, none but the lower classes eat beef. Burnes's Travels, vol iii p 159.

* Tashakji Begi, chief wardrobe keeper

BOOK V
A D 1545

no resistance, and Kábul, and all its provinces south of the Hindu-kúsh range, submitted to him. He published a general amnesty, and spent the winter in the citadel, busily engaged in settling the civil and financial affairs of the country, and in administering justice. The mother of Akber having arrived in the spring from Kandahár, under the escort of Yádgár Násir Mírza, the circumcision of Akber was celebrated by a magnificent festival, at the conclusion of which the Emperor bestowed khiláts and rewards on the most distinguished of his adherents. The government of Ghazni was conferred on Hindal, and Ulugh Mírza, who had returned from the pursuit of Kámrán, was confirmed in that of Zemín dáwer, which had been given him in addition to Tíri and the adjoining districts.

Kámrán
flies to Sind

Meanwhile Kámrán, having escaped from the pursuit of Hindal who was not anxious to seize him, approached Ghazni, but was refused admittance into the town. He now threw himself on the protection of Khizer Khan Hazáia, who carried him, first to Tíri, and then to Zemín-dáwer, whence, after some vain efforts to fix himself in that country, he was finally compelled so take refuge in Sind †

Congratulatory embassies to Ilumayun

During this period of tranquillity, the Emperor received the congratulations of several of the neighbouring princes, on his having recovered his father's throne. An embassy from Shah Tahmasp, at the head of which was Valad Beg, was magnificently entertained, though it made little progress in the grand object for which it was sent — the restoration of Kandahár to the Shah. A similar embassy from Mírza Suleimán, the prince of Badakhshán, was less favourably received, as the Mírza declined the Emperor's invitation to wait upon him, or, in other words, declined acknowledging his immediate authority. Mír Syed Ali, a chief whose influence was

* Akbernáma, f 66—70, Tab her, c 18, 19, Ferishta, vol II Akb ff 158—160, Tar Niz ff 197, pp 158—160, Tar Bed ff 184, 198, Bayezíd, ff 17—22, Jou- 185

great and extensive among the Afghāns and Balūches, also waited upon the Emperor at this period, and received the government of Dukā*, dependant on Hindustan on which it borders, and not far from his own residence. Iwang Baluch, another of the principal Baluch chiefs having also acknowledged the Emperor, was rewarded with the country of Shil and Mustang. These chiefs, we are told, no sooner received these honours than they took their leave, fearing that the air of the city, and the habits of city life might affect the health of their followers, accustomed only to their own wastes and wilds.

CHAP. III
SECT. I

Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Humāyūn's cousin, had not been long returned from escorting the imperial household from Kandahar, when he was charged with entering into new intrigues and cabals, with Askeri Mirza and others, against the Emperor. Humāyūn had probably brought with him from Persia a resolution to beat down all who could be his rivals, and in particular, to reduce the power of the princes of the blood, which, in the former part of his reign, had been productive of so many mischiefs. But he seems to have proceeded with unusual caution, probably to carry along with him the approbation of the old and powerful nobles connected with his family, and of his followers in general. Thirty distinct articles of accusation were brought against Yadgar, some of them for instances of disrespect to his Majesty, but the leading one was that, when in Sind, Shih Husain Mirza had offered him Bheker on condition of his deserting the Emperor, to which he had agreed, whereby the Emperor had been obliged to retire into Irak. On the present occasion, witnesses were examined, and evidences taken, in a manner, of which we find few examples in Asiatic history, and he is said to have been convicted by the testimony of

Yadgar
Mirza imprisoned

* Dukā was probably dependant on Multan

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A D 1546

impartial men of veracity, as well as of his own accomplices. Some parts of the accusation he denied, as to others he was silent. He was found guilty, and Humáyun informed him, through Kerácha Khan, that since, after being so often pardoned, he had engaged anew in rebellious intrigues, he must expect no farther favour. He was accordingly thrown into prison in the Bála-Hissár, in a house near that in which Askeri was confined.

Humáyun
sets out for
Badakh-
shán

Humáyun, being now the undisputed sovereign of the countries to the south of the Hindu-kúsh range, turned his attention to such provinces, on the north of these mountains, as still acknowledged the supremacy of Kábul. These, besides Badakhshán, consisted of Kunduz, Khost, Anderáb, and some other districts lying between the mountains and the Amu. Not content with Badakhshán, Mírza Suleimán had wrested from Kámrán these provinces, which formed no part of that principality, and seemed little disposed to part with them on the requisition of the Emperor. In the spring of 1546, therefore, Humáyun, resolving to chastise him, marched out of Kábul, and encamped in the Yúret Chálák. To prevent intrigues in his absence, he resolved to carry Askeri along with him. But after he had proceeded as far as the valley of Kárábágh, aware of the danger of leaving behind him so restless and turbulent a spirit as Yádgar Násir Mírza, he resolved, in the words of his historian, 'to release the body of that prince from the pains of existence, and to put himself at ease.' He sent an order to that effect to Muhammed Ali Taghán, whom he had left governor of Kábul. "How should I put to death the Mírza," said that good man, "I, who never killed a sparrow?" The Emperor, upon this, devolved the duty upon Muhammed Kásim Mochi, who strangled the Mírza with a bowstring. He was buried on a rising ground opposite to the gate of the citadel, near a piece of water and, after a time, his remains

Beginning
of A D 963

Yádgar
Mírza put
to death

were taken up and carried to Kazvín, where they were deposited in his father, Násir Mírza's, tomb *

CHAP. III
SECT. I.

Humáyun†, having crossed the mountains, reached Anderáb, where, at the village of Tírkerán, he found Mírza Suleimán with a considerable army, strongly entrenched, and prepared to check his advance. The Emperor, determined to force his position, sent on Mírza Hindal, with Háji Muhammed Khan, Kerácha Khan, and a strong body of troops, himself following to support them. The advance made a gallant attack on the fortified camp, as soon as they reached it, but the Badakhshán archers, who were posted behind the trenches, did great execution, and killed or dismounted numbers of the assailants. Among those who most distinguished themselves on this occasion, were a party of the Persian Korchi, or cuirassier body-guard, who accompanied the ambassador, and took a part in the action. The contest was long doubtful, till a party of hardy veterans, by a desperate effort, forced their way across the ditch, surmounted the trench, and sabred the archers behind it, who had done such execution. In a short time after this success, the whole army of Badakhshán was broken and put to flight. Suleimán, abandoning his new territory, fled along the Bángí river and by Náin, Ishkemish and Talikán, towards the broken glens of Khost. Mírza Beg Birlás, who had commanded his archers, and some others of his principal chiefs, surrendered to Humáyun. The Amáks who were made prisoners were dismissed, uninjured. Hindal

The army
of Badakh-
shán de-
feated by
Humáyun

* Akbernáma, f 69, Bayezíd, f 22, Tab Akberí, f 160

† Sometime before setting out on this expedition, on leaving a drinking party after midnight, Humáyun happened to stumble. His butler (Mír Saman) Khwája Jilaled-din Mahmud, expressed his regret that his Majesty should have taken any thing that exposed him

to such accidents. Struck with the observation, he renounced the use of intoxicating mixtures (hashia), and sent to tell the Sadr, and other chiefs of the law, who had been of the party, that the advice should have come from them. He was determined to have adhered to this resolution to the end of his life. *Baráda*
ff 22, 23

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The country submits.

Mírza was sent in pursuit of the fugitives; while Humáyún himself advanced by the pass of Sháhshán into the valley of Khost where he spent some days in the amusements of fishing and fowling, for which the place is celebrated, as well as for its fruits. The country around submitted, and Suleimán was compelled to seek shelter beyond the Amu, in Kuláb, and the upper districts of Khutlán*.

Dangerous illness of Humáyún

Affairs being in this prosperous state, Humáyún moved to Kishem, where he spent three or four months, and divided among the Amírs his late conquests. Badakhshán and Kunduz he gave to Mírza Hindal, the collectorate of Khost was given to Monaim Beg, and that of Talikán to Bápus. The more effectually to settle the country of Badakhshán, to secure the quiet of the peasantry, and to rest the army, Humáyún resolved to pass the winter in Kila Zefei, towards which he directed his march. But on arriving at the village of Sháhdán, between Kishem and that town, he was seized with a violent illness, which, for two months, prevented him from leaving the place. At the beginning of the disease he was for four days insensible. Reports of his death, or of its near approach, were, in consequence, spread and believed. Officers of every rank left their posts, and consulted together as to the line of their future conduct. Among the rest, Mírza Hindal himself left his government of Kunduz, and advanced from Rostak, where he had been, up the Kokcha river, one of the chief branches of the Amu, on which Kila-Zefei stands, prepared to assert his right to the vacant throne. Signs of disorder and insubordination appeared on every side. The Amírs of Suleimán, who had fled into the higher districts of the mountains, gaining confidence, began to descend, and overrun the country. At this trying crisis Keirácha Khan, the prime minister, con-

* Akbernama, f 69, Bayezid, ff 25, 26, Tar Niz f 197

ducted himself with great decision. Mírza Askari, from whom most immediate danger was apprehended, he removed into his own tent, and placed him there in custody. He himself, and the Amís most devoted to Humáyun, pitched their tents close to the imperial pavilion, from which all persons were excluded except the wife of the Emperor, the royal physicians, and one or two confidential servants of the household. Kerácha was indefatigable in his attentions. The disease reached its crisis on the fifth day. While the Begum*, who watched by his sickbed, was engaged in pouring into his mouth the juice of pomegranates, which she squeezed from the fruit, to her surprise and delight he opened his eyes, and asked her, how affairs were going on. Being informed that all was in a state of perturbation and alarm, he sent for Kerácha Khan, and desired him to make haste and let it be known, that he was now convalescent. At the same time letters were despatched to Kábul by Fazl Beg, to announce the amendment of his health, so as to prevent any commotions there, and fortunately that officer reached the capital early in the morning, a few hours after the news of the Emperor's illness had arrived. In the camp, as soon as the Emperor's recovery was known, Mírza Hindal hurried back to Kunduz, and all the other officers returned to the stations which they had left. The partizans of Mírza Sulaimán dispersed, and returned home. When Humáyun was well enough to bear the motion, he was carried in a covered litter to Kíla Zefer, where his health and strength were rapidly recruited. Here he bestowed on Shír esken, the son of Kuch Beg, the districts of Káhnard, Zohák, and Bámián, and sent him to take possession of them, promising that, when he returned

* Joulher, c 19 says that it was Chuchak Begum, who watched by his bedside. Bibi Fatima, the Urdui-Begi of the Harem is represented by Bayezíd, f 27 as having been

most useful. Abulfazl makes Mír Bírkeh the person who was with him, and who received his orders, f 69

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to Kábul, Ghuibend should be added to his jágir. In a short time, the Emperor was so far recovered as to resume his favourite amusement of hunting. His protracted residence beyond the mountains, however, alarmed the Uzbeks, who possessed Bákh and the countries on the west, and they employed themselves in preparation to repel the attack, which they believed was meditated.*

Kámran recovers Kábul

But while every thing seemed to proceed so prosperously, the equally unexpected and unwelcome news arrived, that Kámrán, assisted with troops and money by his father-in-law, Shah Husein Arghún, had once more returned into the territory of Kábul, had gained possession of the capital and of the young prince, and that, among other noblemen who had joined him, was Shír-efken, who had so lately profited by the Emperor's liberality.

This news was a severe blow to Humáyun. It put an end to the hopes he had fondly cherished, of at once marching into Hindustán, and promised another long and doubtful war with his brother, whose power and means of offence were much increased, by his having in his possession, not only the Emperor's son Akber and the rest of his family, but the wives and families of all his principal Amírs, who had been left at Kábul as a place of security. To add to Humáyun's other difficulties, it was then the depth of winter, and the lofty Hindu-kúsh mountains, difficult to be crossed even in summer, but then covered with snow, were interposed between him and Kábul. He instantly concluded a treaty with Mírza Suleimán, by which the kingdom of Badakhshán was restored to him, as he had enjoyed it under Báber, and leaving Mírza Hindal governor of all the other provinces beyond the mountains, Kunduz, Anderáb, Khost, Kahnerd, Ghuri, and their dependencies,

* Akbernáma, ff 69, 70, Tab Akb f 160, Jouher, c 19, Bayezid, f 27

he set out from Kili-Zefer to march for Kábul. At Tihkán, on the Ferikhai river, he was detained several days by the violence of the rain and snow. As soon as they abated, he went on to Kunduz, where he was hospitably entertained by Hindal, in the garden of Khosrau Shah. Several of his Amírs, however, anxious for the fate of their families in Kábul, deserted from the camp, so that Humáyun himself and his remaining officers, seeing that the troops desponded, and were wavering, were compelled to go about among them to confirm them in their allegiance, by re-animating their hopes, and by promises of reward*. After the Muhammedan festival of the Korhán, he again set out, and proceeding by Chelándér, a town on the road to Khulm, began to ascend the hills, though the quantity of snow that had fallen was such, that the roads were blocked up, and they were compelled to make a path by ramming in down, so that the horses and camels could move over it. In spite of every difficulty they surmounted the defiles of Shubertu and the pass of Rakík, and halted at Kiliway Syaran, ready soon to attack Kábul itself.

CHAP. III.
 Sect. 1.

Humáyun
 marches
 against it
 once more

Zilkajeh 10
 1 eb 1
 A D 1547

* Akbarnama, f 71, Tab Akb f 161, Jouher, c 20

CHAPTER III

HUMÁYUN IN AFGHÁNISTÁN

SECTION II

CAPTURE AND LOSS OF KÁBUL BY KÁMRÁN HIS
SUBMISSION

KÁMRÁN IN SIND — LEAVES SIND ON HUMÁYUN'S ILLNESS — SURPRISES GHAZNI AND KÁBUL — HIS CRUELITIES — HUMÁYUN ADVANCES AGAINST HIM — IS DESERTED BY MANY NOBLES — RESOLVES TO ATTACK KÁBUL — DEFEAT OF KÁMRÁN'S GENERAL — HUMÁYUN TAKES THE OUTER FORTIFICATIONS — PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE — BRUTAL CONDUCT OF KÁMRÁN — HIS DISTRESS AND SUBMISSIVE APPLICATIONS — HE ESCAPES — FLIES TO BADAQSHÁN, AND THENCE TO THE UZBEKS — HUMÁYUN ENTERS KÁBUL, WHICH IS PLUNDERED — SENDS IN PURSUIT OF KÁMRÁN WHO RETURNS WITH AN ARMY FROM BALKH — AND ATTACKS BADAQSHÁN — HUMÁYUN MOVES TO MEET HIM — REVOLT IN HIS CAMP — THE REBELS ESCAPE TO KÁMRÁN — THE GOVERNOR OF BADAQSHÁN DECLARES FOR HUMÁYUN — HIS ADVANCE — RUFULSE NEAR TALIKÁN — THE FORT INVESTED — SUBMISSIVE OFFERS OF KÁMRÁN — HE SURRENDERS. — HIS RECEPTION BY HUMÁYUN — HUMÁYUN SETTLES HIS NORTHERN DOMINIONS, AND RETURNS TO KÁBUL

BOOK V

A D 1547
A H 953
Kámrán in
Sind

BUT it is now necessary to explain by what means Mírza Kámrán had been able to effect so great a change in his circumstances. We have seen that, when formerly compelled to abandon his capital by night, he attempted to seize Ghazni. Being disappointed by the vigilance of the garrison, he had taken refuge with Khizer Khan Hazára*, who received him with every mark of distinction, and conducted him first to Tíri, among the Hazára

* Kámrán had given his daughter to Khizer Khan's son

BOOK V

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Surprises
Ghazni,

and Kábul

His cruel
ties

possessed of a led horse. This enabled him to advance rapidly on Ghazni, which he entered by surprise, having had a previous understanding with some of the inhabitants. The governor, Záhíd Beg, he put to death, and carefully cut off all communication with Kábul. Emboldened by success, he pressed on for that city, accompanied by his Sindí troops, and, preceding the news of his own return, reached it early in the morning. On taking possession of the gates, he found that the governor Muhammed Ali Taghái was gone out to take the warm bath. The Mírza made him be brought forth, undressed as he was, and sabred him on the spot. The city and citadel, with all the Emperor's family, fell into his hands without resistance. He went to reside in the Bála-Aik or Bála-Hissár. The young prince, Akber, who had already been exposed to so many changes of fortune, he treated with tenderness, but again removed him from the care of Mír Atka, and placed him under the charge of his own servants.

Whether from imitation of temper or from policy, he now indulged in acts of extreme severity and cruelty. He blinded Fazail Beg and Mehter Vakíla, whom Humáyun had sent to forward the preparations for his intended expedition against Hindustán. He put to death, or imprisoned, many others of Humáyun's most faithful adherents. Hisám-ed dín Ah, the son of Mír Khalífa, chancing about this time to return from Zemíndáwer, the government of which he had resigned to Ulugh Beg, was seized by the Mírza, who, in revenge for the repulse he had received from him in that province, ordered him to be torn limb from limb. By great exertions he succeeded in detaching many of the chief men of the country, and among others Shír esken, from their allegiance to Humáyun. He spared no efforts to collect an army and every munition of war, and in a short time he was once more acknowledged in

BOOK V

A. D. 1547

Resolves to
attack Ká-
bulDefeat of
Kámrán's
general

had families in Kábul, would take that opportunity of deserting, and that, therefore, it was better at once to attack the town. If the Míza hazarded a battle to preserve it, 'twas well, if not, that, at least, desertion would be prevented, and the troops placed under cover. Háji Muhammed was, therefore, sent on, with the advance, by the Minár pass, while the Emperor took the Páyán pass, on the direct road to the city.

When Míza Hindal came near Delh-Afghánán, one of the suburbs of Kábul, he was met by Shír-efken at the head of a body of Kámrán's best troops, and an action ensued, bravely supported on both sides. Some of the Emperor's men, however, broken by the impetuosity of the attack, at last turned and fled. Humáyun, who was at a little distance, observing this, and seeing Míza Hindal still gallantly maintaining his ground with the handful of men left with him, was on the point of galloping to his succour, when Kerácha Khan begged to be allowed to lead the reinforcement. The Khan charged with much vigour, and himself engaged Shír-efken hand to hand. Shír-efken, who was a distinguished swordsman, discharged upon him three furious blows in quick succession, all of which he warded off with his sabre. Shír-efken then let fall a fourth, but missing his aim, was thrown forward on his horse, upon which Kerácha, pushing on his charger, unhorsed him, and took him prisoner.* Háji Muhammed, mean-

* This is related differently by different writers. Bayezid says, that when Shír-efken heard of Humáyun's approach, he was in the bath, and drunk, that, without informing Kámrán, he set out to engage the enemy: that near Baba Shesh-per he met the enemy's pickets: that Syed Ali, a Korchi, there attacked him, seized him by the waist, made him prisoner, and carried him to the Emperor: that Ke-

rácha Khan insisted he should be put to death, that a quarrel arose between Sháh Mirza, Ulugh Mirza's brother, and Jemíl Beg, the brother of Bapus, as to which of them had made him prisoner, and that, upon the testimony of the soldiers, the prize was given to Jemíl Beg. Probably these commanders claimed a right to whatever was gained by their retainers. Bayezíd, f. 30

while, arriving with his division by a different road, and attacking the enemy in flank they fled in every direction. Humayun showed a disposition to have spared Shir-ekhen, but Kerâkha and other officers remonstrating upon the bad example of pardoning a deserter and rebel of such rank, his head was struck off on the spot in the Emperor's presence. Without loss of time Humayun followed the retreating troops towards Kabul, and advancing by the Khâbân, an avenue and pleasure ground leading to the Iron Gate*, a part of his troops pressed on the fugitives with so much ardour, that they entered the outer enclosure along with them. Mirza Khizer Khan, the Hazâra, and the Arghûn auxiliaries, believing all to be over, rode off, and took refuge among the neighbouring Hazâras, so that the outer enclosure of the city was taken without further resistance. Shir-Ah retiring into the fortified town. Most of the prisoners taken in this action were put to death †.

CHAP. III
SECT. II

Humayun
takes the
outer fortifications

The Emperor having established his head quarters at the Koh-Akikhem (Ingles' Hill), which commanded the town planted his artillery, and commenced a cannonade upon it. Kamrân, who, for some time, had expected to be besieged, had placed both the town and citadel in the best posture of defence, and had a strong garrison within the walls. This enabled him to make daily sallies, for the purpose of interrupting the operations of the besiegers, which led to many desperate encounters. In one of these, Hîrî Muhammed Khan, while engaged in making out ground for trenches, was attacked by Shir-Ah, and severely wounded in the right arm. He was rescued by his own men, and, being unable to walk, was carried to his quarters, where for some time he remained dangerously ill. A

Progress of
the siege

* Derwîza-Ahenein

198, Jouher, c. 20, Bayezîd, ff

† Al-Bernînâ, ff 70, 71, Tab

18—20

Alb 160, 161, Tar Niz ff 197,

BOOK V
A " 1547, report of his death reaching the Emperor, an officer was sent to take charge of his portion of the trenches. This so much hurt the old veteran that, ill as he was, he ordered his horse, and rode out to visit them, in consequence of which over exertion he had a severe relapse. Mírza Sanjer, who had so lately deserted from Humáyun, was run off with, during a sally, by his horse, which carried its rider to the Bágh-e-Benefshieh*, where its former owner had lived. He was taken, and carried before the Emperor, who sent him to prison.

The town and citadel were too extensive to admit of their being fully blockaded by the besiegers. Even at an early period of the siege, a few men of rank deserted from Kámrán, but as it continued, and scarcity began to prevail, numbers, seeing no prospect of relief, made their escape, and for the most part joined the Emperor. When the siege had lasted for some time, a large caravan from the north reached Charikáán, bringing about five hundred horses and much valuable property. Kámrán, informed of its arrival, directed Shír Ali to take a detachment and plunder it. Some of his officers objected to this, as Humáyun, they said, would not fail to send a party to pursue them, so that, either the detachment would be unable to reach the caravan, or, if it did, would be unable to get back to the town, in which case no benefit could be derived from the sally. Kámrán, however, persisting, the detachment set out, surprised the caravan, and bore off the booty. Humáyun got notice of their march and its object. But as several hours had already elapsed since they left the fort, instead of making a vain attempt to overtake them, he put his whole troops in motion to block up the roads and guard the fords, so as to prevent their regaining the town. This was done so vigorously and successfully, that Shír Ali, when he returned, found it impossible to effect an entry in any quarter, so that

* Violet garden

he was compelled to retire to a distance, and wait for an opportunity of throwing himself into the place by surprise. A grand sally from the fort was at length concerted, under cover of which a way might be opened for his troops to regain the fort. But, after desperate efforts the besieged were repulsed, chiefly by the steadiness of a small body of matchlock-men, and forced to fall back with a great loss in killed and wounded. Shih Ah, after this repulse, losing all hope of being able to enter the town made for Ghizim but was pursued, overtaken, and detained at the Squend pass, his followers dispersed, a considerable part of the merchandise and horses plundered from the caravan, recovered, and a number of prisoners taken. When the pursuing party returned to the camp, Humáyun sent for the merchants who had been plundered, and delivered up to them whatever they could identify as having belonged to them: an act of justice which, in those times of rapine made a most favourable impression, and was afterwards very beneficial to his affairs. This act of generosity was accompanied by one of a very different description. The prisoners that had been taken, about thirty in number, were led out in front of the trenches, opposite to the city gate, and there put to death, in presence of the besieging army and of the garrison. This act of cruelty marks the decided turn that had taken place in the spirit of the war, which, from various causes, as is but too common in civil wars, had, for some time past, been gradually assuming a character of great ferocity.

The relations of such as had suffered in this execution listened to Kammán, and loudly demanded retaliation for the blood that had been spilt. Though he had himself been the aggressor, and shown the example, the demand was in accordance with his irritated feelings. The relations of such as had been employed in the transaction were seized, and subjected to a cruel

CHAP III
SECT II

Brutal conduct of
Kammán.

BOOK V

A D 1547

revenge Bápus had been ordered by the Emperor to superintend the late execution Kámrán, under pretence of retaliation, gave over that nobleman's wife to the rabble in the bazar, to be dishonoured, and murdered his three sons, who were between the age of three and eight years, throwing their dead bodies over the walls, towards that part of the trenches where Kerácha Khan and Mosáhib Beg commanded The sons of these two last mentioned Amírs he caused to be tied to stakes, and exposed suspended by ropes from the castle wall, at the same time intimating to their unhappy parents that they must either join him, or make the Emperor raise the siege, or at least open for him through their lines a passage, by which he might leave the fort, otherwise that their children should be treated as those of Bápus had been Kerácha, who was then Humáyun's prime minister, made answer aloud in hearing of the troops, to Kámrán's men who were on the battlements — that his children must all meet death in the course of nature, and in the allotted time that they could not fall better than in the path of duty to their benefactor that his own life belonged to his sovereign, from his allegiance to whom nothing should make him swerve, "but," added the minister, "if Kámrán will return to his allegiance, my life, which at any time I would gladly give for that of my children, shall be gratefully devoted to his service" Humáyun gave his brother to know that, should he carry his threat into execution, he and his son must expect the same fate, as soon as the city fell Kámrán, however, made the wife of Muhammed Kásim Khan Mochi, with some other females, be suspended by the breasts from the battlements, and continued to rage, with odious brutality, against the helpless and unoffending children and wives of his enemies

As the cannonade still continued, Kámrán, to check the fire of the besiegers, is said to have ordered the

young prince, Akber, to be exposed on that part of the wall where the fire of cannon and musquetry was hottest. If we do not, with Abulfazl, allow that Sambal Khan, the Emperor's master of artillery, wondered from what unknown cause the hands of his artillery and matchlock-men trembled, why the bullets took a crooked course, and why their matches did not communicate their usual fire, yet we must detest the being who closed a scene of dastardly cruelty towards his innocent prisoners, by exposing his infant nephew to such a risk. The firing, however, ceased *

CHAP. III.
ECT. II.

The siege had now continued so long, that the chiefs, who were in the Emperor's interest, began to join his camp from a distance, from Zemin-dáwer, Kandahár, Kílát, and Badakhshán. They all had stations assigned to them, so that the blockade was completed all around, and every day became closer. Kámrán, now much straitened, began to feel apprehensions for his own safety. He sent the humblest and most submissive confession of his past errors to Kerácha Khan, beseeching him to intercede with his offended brother, whom it was now his supreme wish faithfully to serve, and

His distress
and submis-
sive appli-
cations.

* It is difficult anywhere to find instances of flattery so gross as the greater part of Abulfazl's account of the infant years of Akber. Akber-náma *passim*. The Emperor, who wished to be thought invested with a supernatural character, did not discourage such representations, but rather favoured any artifice that could add weight to the belief. The story of Akber's being actually exposed on the walls is related by Abulfazl, as well as by Nizám ed-dín Ahmed, Tar. Niz. f. 199, who mentions that Máhmud Anka interposed her body to preserve him from danger, in which he is followed by the Tar. Bedáuni, Ferishta, and in general all subsequent writers. Yet

the fact seems doubtful. Bayezid, a contemporary, and on the spot, though he minutely describes the other atrocities, takes no notice of this, ff. 31, 32, and Jouher, who was also in the camp, only says, in mentioning the cannonade which was opened from the Koh-Aákabein and returned from the fort, "Mirza Kámrán upon this threatened to expose his Majesty's son, Muhammed Akber, to the fire of the battery. When information of this reached the Emperor, he ordered the cannonade to cease, but his troops to remain in the trenches on every side, and to guard them well. — End of cap. 20

BOOK V

A. D. 1547

Thursday,
Rebl, I 7
A. H. 954
April 27
His escape

offering, in proof of his sincerity, to put his life and fortune in the Emperor's hands. Humáyun, with his usual easy good nature, was disposed to forgive him. But Kerácha Khan and Mosáhib Beg,—whether they only foresaw new trouble and fresh intrigues from the Mírza's residence in his brother's court, or whether, according to others, they were alarmed lest their own importance should be gone, were Humáyun to reign supreme, without a rival,—are accused of having privately filled the mind of Kámrán with dread of the danger that awaited him should he surrender to his brother, and, at the same time, terrified him by the information that the Emperor's army was every day growing in strength. As friends, therefore, they are said to have advised Kámrán to make his escape, offering secretly to assist him in passing through the lines. At all events, the Mírza, on the 27th day of April, the night being very dark, left the citadel by a breach opened in the wall, was conducted through the trenches, and made the best of his way for the mountains on foot. Humáyun, on hearing of his escape, sent Mírza Hindal to pursue him. The Mírza overtook him after he had reached the hills, which he found him ascending, mounted on the back of a man. Hindal was about to seize him, but desisted on the earnest prayers of his brother, not to force him back to certain death, and being affected at his deplorable and destitute situation, presented him with a horse, and turned back.*

* Akbernáma, ff 71—73, Tar Akb ff 160, 161, Tar Niz ff 198, 199, Jouher, c 20 and 21, Bayezid, ff 30—32, Tar Bed f 185, Ferishta, vol II pp 161—163, Bayezid affirms that Hindal allowed Kámrán to pass through his lines, that he was recognised and seized, but a sign taken from him, after which he was allowed to go on. Other authorities affirm that Hájí Muhammed was sent in pur-

suit and overtook him, when Kámrán exclaiming in Turki, "Go and say to your father, Bába Kushkeh, it was I that slew him" Hájí Muhammed, who was an old soldier and a Moghul, did not push on, but turned back and let him go, Tar Bed f 185 and Tab Akb. He probably also knew him as a child, being Kokildash to one of the imperial family.

Kámrán had concerted with his adherents, that they should meet him at the hill of Istálif, in the Kohistan, north of Kabul, where he was to collect an army, and make a new attempt, but, on his arrival, seeing nothing in readiness, he set out again by night attended only by Ah-kuli, a Korchu, and proceeded onward by the valley of Semjed. He was met on the way by a party of Hazaras, who robbed him of the little he had left. One of them, however, recognizing the Mirza, he was carried to their chief, who took him to Zohák and Bannan, where he was joined by Mirza Beg, Shír Ah, and a few more, who still adhered to his interest. In the course of a week, they collected about a hundred and fifty horse, with which they went down to Ghni, which they summoned to surrender. But Mirza Beg Buri, the governor, declining his determination to hold the place for Humayun, the party had begun to pass on, when one of their number, a man of no note, in a rude and blustering manner, abusing the privilege allowed to companions in misfortune, began to rail at Kámrán, exclaiming that, if he was really the son of Baber, and had any sense of honour, he would not allow the governor to escape so easily. Kámrán explained to his restive adherent, that he had neither stores nor implements for conducting a siege, nor were his people in a humour for it. But, at length, stung by the renewed reproaches of the man, he turned back, and by a piece of fortunate temerity, deserted Mirza Beg, who had with him a thousand foot and three hundred horse, and took the place, in which was found a large supply of stores, besides the horses, arms and accoutrements of the troops. Leaving Shír Ah to defend this important acquisition, he pushed on towards Badakhshán, in the hope of prevailing upon Mirza Suleman, and his son Mirza Ibráhím, to join him. But these princes, who had no attachment to any of the brothers, and were wholly bent on making themselves independent,

CHAP. III
SECT. II

Flies to Badakhshán and thence to the Uzbek.

BOOK V
A D 1547

and on securing their country from foreign invasion, declared their determination to adhere to the treaty lately concluded with Humáyun so that Kámrán, finding no prospect of success in that quarter, was compelled to turn for succour to the Uzbeks, the grand enemies of his race, and marched down to Báikh, in hopes that Pír Muhammed Khan, the Uzbek chief of that province, might espouse his cause *

Humáyun
enters Ka-
bul which is
plundered

Meanwhile, Humáyun, having entered Kábul, had the satisfaction of embracing his son Akber, whom, as well as all the ladies of his family, he found safe. He, however, gave up the town to be plundered for one whole night by his troops, as a punishment on the inhabitants for allowing their town to be surprised. This, had it been the real cause, was punishing them for the fault of a governor chosen by himself, and for all the subsequent misery which, through his negligence, they had endured. But the real motive was, probably, his inability to remunerate his troops in any other way for their long-suffering and privations, before and during the siege. He put to death some Múllas, who had encouraged Kámrán in his rebellion and misdeeds. Being apprehensive that the Mírza might establish himself in Badakhshán, he despatched Keráchi Khan across the mountains, to chase him out of his dominions. That general, accordingly, descending on the northern face of the range, laid siege to Ghurn, which he took, after it had been long defended with gallantry by Shír Ah, who, when it was no longer defensible, effected his escape, carrying the garrison along with him.

Sends in
pursuit of
Kámran

Kámran re-
turns with
an army
from Balkh

Kámran had not been long at Báikh, before he succeeded in engaging the governor, Pír Muhammed Khan, in his interest. That chief, and indeed the whole Uzbek confederacy, had seen with jealousy and alarm,

* Akbarnama, f 73, Tab Al b f 32, Khol-ul Towarikh, f 267 ff 161, 162, Tar Niz ff 199, This last calls Pír Muhammed Khan, 200, Jouher, c 21, Bayezid, Wali of Iuran

the late visit of Humáyun to the provinces on the Amu. When he heard, therefore, of Kámrán's approach, to ask succour against his brother, he considered the occasion as a most favourable one for fomenting that discord among the sons of Báber, which hitherto had been so advantageous to the Uzbeks. He received the Muzá with every mark of distinction, lodged him in his own palace, and soon accompanied him back into the country which acknowledged the sovereign of Kábul, at the head of a powerful force. With his aid, Kámrán recovered Ghurí, and took Bakkán, and adventurers flocked to his standard from every quarter. Hindul Muzá, who with the troops of Kunduz, had formed a junction with Kerácha Khan and Suleimán Muzá, was unable to resist such an invasion. His army, therefore, soon broke up, he threw himself into Kunduz, Kerácha Khan recrossed the mountains, to bring an adequate reinforcement from Kábul, while the Badakhshán Muzás hastened back to defend the narrow passes of their own mountains. Pir Muhammed Khan, seeing his ally, Kámrán Muzá, undisputed master of the open country, returned home to Bákh, leaving with him a strong body of Uzbek auxiliaries.*

The Muzá, availing himself of his good fortune, resolved to make his first attack on the dominions of Suleimán. For that purpose, he advanced to Kishem and Talikán, whence he detached a body of his Chaghatái and Uzbek troops, under Rafik Koka, to occupy Rostak, a town and district situated on the Kokcha river, within the territory of Badakhshán. Suleimán, collecting the militia of the adjoining highland district of Kuláb or Khutlán, marched suddenly into Rostak, and made a sharp attack upon Rafik, with whom he came up near Kila Zefer. He was, however, repulsed, and compelled once more to take refuge among his

Attacks Ba-
dakhshán.

BOOK V

A D 1547

Humáyun
moves to
meet him

mountains. Such an effect had the news of Kámran's success on his old followers and soldiers at Kábul, that nearly 3,000 of them left that place, and joined him in his new adventure *

No sooner did the Emperor hear of the dangers that threatened him on the side of Báikh, than he left his capital, and marched to place himself at the head of his troops in the north. He had only reached Ghuibend, in the Koh-daman of Kábul, when he met Kerácha Khan on his way back from his unfortunate expedition. Kerácha, as he crossed the hills, had been plundered of all his baggage by the Aimáks, who, with the Hazáras and other hill-tribes, were the only gainers by these intestine wars. The destitute condition, to which he was thus reduced, made it indispensable for Kerácha to go on to Kábul, there to refit, so as to enable him to take the field, and Humáyun moved from Ghuibend to Gulbehár, where he halted to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, and to await his minister's return. As soon as Kerácha rejoined the camp, the Emperor, intent on his original purpose, again moved on. But, through this ill-timed delay, the season for passing the hills was lost, and in attempting to surmount the passes of the Hindu-kúsh mountains, when they were covered with deep snow, the difficulties and dangers were found to be such, that, after much disorder and loss among the troops and cattle, which plunged, and stumbled, and sank in the snow, the attempt was abandoned, and the army returned to Kábul, to await the return of spring *

Revolt in
his camp

When the season arrived, in which it was practicable to cross the mountains, Humáyun, as he was about to set out, was prevented by an unexpected revolt. The real nature of the intrigues which produced so many revolutions, for a long series of years, in the family of

* Khol ul Towaríkh, f 267

† Akbernama, f 74

Tamur, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to discover, even were it of much importance. Some observations are obvious enough. Though much respect was paid to the members of the imperial family, as descendants of Tamur, or of Bâber, no one individual of them was viewed with exclusive veneration as the eldest, or legal representative of the dynasty. Any one of them who could command success, could command obedience. The throne of the individual was always, therefore, unsteady. Possession, within the range of the family, brought right along with it. There were no great bodies, of the nobles, of the law, or of the church, no corporations, living beyond the life of man, and maintaining, while they existed, the same uniform spirit and character, that could be opposed to a spirit of change. The towns, though they had wishes and interests of their own, having no municipal government, no correspondence with each other, no central point or council, by which their common interest could be known or pursued, were without power, or influence in affairs of state, and could only show their uneasy feelings by riot or revolt. A few Amirs, with their followers, decided the question, who was to rule. Even among them, there were nobles, but no body of nobility. There was no Senate, or States General, or Parliament, in which they had a right to take their seat, and where they could consult in common. The king's court was the centre of union, and from the crown all honour flowed to the individual, for dignity was not hereditary. The possession of the ear, or even of the person, of the sovereign was the great object of the ambitious. The great Amirs strengthened themselves, for influence at court, by adding to the number of their retainers, and all in the lower stations who aspired to rise, connected themselves with some powerful noble. The consequence was, that a few of these grand Amirs, by a combination among themselves, or by a sudden *coup d'état*, could

BOOK V
A D 1548

make and unmake the sovereign Princes of talent could overrule, and give an useful direction to the power thus accumulated in a few hands, while such as were deficient in political skill, became the instruments, and too often the victims, of this unregulated power. As there were few steady checks to the exercise of power, every governor, as well as every sovereign, was nearly despotic in his own government. In such a state of things, discontent and collision were inevitable.

Some discontent would appear to have prevailed at the court of Kábul among the leading nobles, though we are ignorant of its exact nature and extent. Kerácha Khan was Prime Minister, an office which he had earned by important services. It is probable that in this high station, encouraged by the easy humour and indolence of Humáyún, he may have arrogated too much to himself, and carried matters with too high a hand, and the Emperor could hardly fail occasionally to feel the engrossing spirit of his minister, while, on the other hand, Kerácha was easily inflamed at any obstacle to his authority. The possession of the purse is always the most important part of a minister's power, and any interruption in that power is most sensibly felt. It happened that Kerácha, who had got the Emperor's consent to bestow a trifling sum of ten tumáns* on a particular officer, had himself written the order on the treasury to carry it into effect. When it was presented, Khwája Glází of Tabríz, the Diván or Minister of Finance, who had returned from Persia during the late siege, and been appointed to that important office, refused to pay it, and at the same time represented to the Emperor that as he, by the nature of his office, was answerable for the expenses of the army, he could not allow any other person to interfere in his department. The order, when refused, was carried back to Kerácha, who took

* In that age this sum might be equal to 80/ or 100/

BOOK V

A D 1548

The rebels
escape to
Kámrán

were successively despatched in this manner in the course of the day, and at noon, when the hour was at length declared to be fortunate, the Emperor himself set out, and at length overtook and attacked the rear-guard of the fugitives near Kárá-bágh. Having pushed them before him, he had got close upon Kerácha Khan, towards the close of the day, on the banks of the Múni, when night interposed. The fugitives, continuing their flight, passed the bridge of Ghurbend, which they broke down behind them, whereupon a detachment, that had followed them up to that time, returned back to Humáyun at Kárábágh. That prince, finding that they had escaped his immediate pursuit, hastened back to Kábul, to prepare for a campaign on the Badakhshán side of the hills, which he now saw would be more necessary, and the event more doubtful than he had expected. Kerácha, on his part, leaving Temir Shagháli in the district of Penjshír, to collect and forward all the intelligence he could procure from Kábul, proceeded by the Upper Hindu-kúsh pass, and joined Kámrán in Kishem.*

Humáyun
collects his
forces.

A D 955,
Jemádi I 5
June 12

Humáyun, on his return to Kábul, despatched orders to his Amírs in every quarter, to furnish their quotas to the army he was preparing to lead against Kámrán. Among others he invited Háji Muhammed Khan to join him from Ghazni. In the course of about a month, on the 12th of June A D 1548, he left Kábul and proceeded to Kárábágh, where he halted ten or twelve days, waiting for his stores and field equipage. Here, to the general surprise, he was joined by Háji Muhammed, whose fidelity seems to have been suspected. Kásim Husein Sultan Uzbek also arrived from Bangash, and was gladly welcomed.

The Govern-
nor of Ba-
dakhshán
declares for
him

It was while they were still at this station that Míza Ibráhín, Sulemán's son, arrived from Badakhshán

* Akbarnáma, f 74, Tab Akb rishta, vol ii p 163, Jouher, c.21, f 162, Tar Niz 900, 201, Fe- Bayezid, f 33, 34

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A D 1548

reached the Khost territory, Mosáhíb succeeded in conveying them safe to Talikán

On reaching the low country, Humáyun was joined from Kunduz by his brother Hindal, who brought with him a prisoner of considerable importance, Shír Ali. This chief had long possessed much influence in the court of Kámrán, whom he had often urged to attack Kunduz, representing it as an easy conquest. He was, at length, entrusted with a force to make the attempt, and had reached the town. But a party from the fort having one night surrounded the house in which he was, and come upon him by surprise, Shír Ali, in trying to escape, threw himself into the river, but broke one of his arms, and was taken. Humáyun received him with distinction, gave him a dress of honour, and restored him to the government of Ghuri. He was a man of great vigour, foresight and activity, but it is not very easy to discover the principle on which officers, at this distracted period, the moment they passed, by desertion or the fortune of war, from one army to another, were entrusted with commands of importance. There seems to have been little steady fidelity, or honour, among the adherents on either side *

The important conflict between the Emperor and Kámrán, who had received so large an accession of strength by the revolt of the Amírs, was now about to take place. When rather more than the half of July 1548 was passed, Humáyun, encamped in the Aleng Kazan of Anderáb, was joined by the Kází of Anderáb, with a number of the neighbouring tribesmen†, and others, who had been followers of Mosáhíb Beg. He lost no time, but resolved to attack the enemy while still divided. Putting his troops in motion, and giving Hindal the advance, he marched to lay siege to Talikán, at that time garrisoned by Kerácha Khan and

* Akbernáma, f 75, Tab Akb
f 162

† The Tukba, Simchi, and Baluch are specified Akbernáma

the rebel Amírs, with a party of Kámrán's troops under Mirza Abdalla, who were making every preparation to place it in a condition to sustain a long siege Kámrán himself, with the main body of his army, was lying at a distance near Kishem and Kila Zefer

CHAP III
SECT II

Humáyun, trusting to this division of the enemy's force, had ordered Míza Hindal and the advance to cross the Bángi above Talikán*, and to take up ground on the other side of the river But the rebel Amís, aware of the Emperor's movements, had, by express, informed Kámrán of their danger, and added that Hindal and his division could with ease be cut off by a sudden attack Kámrán had, in consequence, made a forced march of nearly fifty miles†, had arrived near Talikán, and already occupied a rising ground not far from the fort No sooner, therefore, had Hindal's division passed the river, than Kámrán attacked and broke it, while unsupported by the main body, plundering their baggage, and driving them back in confusion to the side from which they had come

Repulse near
Talikan

The Emperor, who reached the river just when this discomfiture occurred, was eager to cross at once, in face of the enemy But finding that to be dangerous, the bed of the river being full of loose rolling stones, which rendered footing insecure, he was compelled to march about a mile farther up, where the bottom was of firm rock, and there he crossed Without delay he again moved downwards, to drive Kámrán from the rising ground which he had occupied As he approached it, he found that a strong party which he had pushed forward had been vigorously assailed and driven back, but, as soon as the imperial standard was seen advancing, Kámrán, convinced that the main body was

* Talikan stands upon the Fer-
khar river, which joins the Bángi
Both branches, however, seem to be
occasionally called Bángi Below

Talikan the river generally gets the
name of the Talikan river

† 25 kos

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A.D. 1548

The fort
invested

now at hand, hurriedly deserted his position, and retired into the town with the loss of his own baggage as well as of that which he had taken. Humáyun now plundered and laid waste the surrounding country, and sat down before the fort. Such prisoners as he had taken were put to death. Being anxious, however, to put an end to hostilities, he wrote to his brother*, making an overture for an accommodation, but it was rejected. Batteries were, therefore, erected, and operations begun.

The siege went on for about a month, during which time the Emperor was joined by Mírza Sulaimán and his son, with large reinforcements, as well as by Chaker Khan, the son of the late Sultan Weiss Kipchak, with a force from Kuláb. Kámrán, meanwhile, finding that he had no prospect of relief from any quarter, as the Uzbeks, rejoiced to see the princes of Kábul destroying each other, refused him any farther assistance, became most eager to open the negotiation which he had so lately rejected. For this purpose he shot into the camp of the besiegers, arrows having attached to them letters addressed to the Emperor, in which, by the humblest confession of his offences, and by promises of a change of conduct, he attempted to propitiate his resentment, and proposed Mír Arab Mekki as his mediator. The Emperor having agreed to receive his submission, the Mír was sent into the fort, and, after some conferences, finally concluded a capitulation by which the Mírza,

Submissive
offers of
Kámrán

* Hardly any letters passed in that age between princes in which quotations from favourite poets are not to be found. Humáyun wrote to Kámrán, "O my unkind brother, what are you doing? For every murder that is committed on either side, you will have to answer at the day of judgment. Come and make peace, that mankind may no longer be oppressed by our quarrels." The

letter was sent by Nesíb, a diviner, (rammál) Kámrán, having read the letter, was silent, and when the diviner requested an answer, the Mírza only repeated the well-known verse, "He that would obtain sovereignty for his bride, must woo her across the edge of the sharp sword." Nesíb, considering this as his answer, bowed and returned to Humáyun.

renouncing his claim to independence, agreed that the khutba should be read in the Emperor's name, that the revolted Amirs should be delivered up in chains, while he himself was to be permitted to retire to Mekka. Accordingly the Emperor's Sidi entered Talikan, and on Friday, the 17th day of August, recited the prayer for the prince in his name, in the Grand Mosque. Kunran, with his family, having come out of the town, was conducted by Ilap Muhammad to the limits of the imperial territory. He requested that Bapus might be one of the Amirs who were to accompany him in his exile, because, he said, he was his *protector*, and he wished to have an opportunity of atoning for the sore injury he had done him. The revolted Amirs were brought as prisoners into the Emperor's presence, and pardoned, probably on a private understanding under the treaty.*

CHAP. III
SECT. II

Reck. 12,
August 17

He sur-
renders

Reck. 17
August 22

The army was still encamped in a valley on the banks of the Talikan river, when, on the 22nd of August the Emperor was surprised to learn that Kunran was not far off, and on his way back to throw himself on his mercy. When Kunran left Talikan, he was under the deepest apprehension for his personal safety. But when he had gone a few stages, and heard of the generous reception, which Humayun had given to the revolted nobles,—as he had no real wish to go to

* The first who was brought in was Kerichakhan with his scymetar hanging from his neck. The Emperor made it be taken off, permitted him to make his obeisance, addressed some congratulatory words to him, and then desired him to be seated on his left, below Terdi Beg Khan. The same ceremony was gone through with the others who had all places assigned them. When Korhan Kerwal, who had been a personal servant of Humayun's came in and bowed down with shame, performed the *kornish*, "And you

too, said the Emperor, "What cause of offence could you have?" Korhan answered, "What can those do, who face God has blackened?" On which Hasan kuli quoted the couplet "He who puffs at the lamp which God has lighted, singes his beard." All the rebel lords, says Abulfazl, but especially Kerichakhan, who had a very long beard, felt much ashamed. Akbarnama, ff 75, 76, Tab. Akb. ff 162, 163, Jouher, c 22, Bayezid ff 33—37

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A D 1548

the Holy Cities,—he began to imagine that he might still have something to expect from his brother's clemency, an idea that was encouraged by Mírza Abdalla, and others who accompanied him, to whom the pilgrimage was as little pleasing as to himself. After he had travelled about forty miles*, therefore, he turned back, and sent on Bápus to wait upon Humáyun, and communicate to him his most humble petition to be received under his protection. Humáyun at once acceded to his wishes, made every preparation for his honourable reception, and sent out Hindal and Askern, his brothers, the latter of whom he released from bonds on the occasion, with Mírza Suleimán, and many great Amírs, as an honorary procession, or Istakbál, to meet and conduct him to the presence, with the sound of kettle-drums and trumpets.

His reception by Humáyun

When Kámrán approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Monam Khan, who stood by, and passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal. "Alas! alas!" exclaimed the Emperor, there is no need of this, throw it away." The Mírza made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the court, after which the Emperor gave him the formal embrace, and commanded him to be seated. Kámrán began to make excuses for his past conduct, and to express his regret. "What is past is past," said the Emperor. "Thus far we have conformed to ceremony. Let us now meet as brothers." They then rose, and clasped each other to their breasts, in the most affectionate manner, and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all who were present. Humáyun, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Túrki, the language of their family, "Sit close

* 10 Farsukh or farsangs, Tab Al berí

BOOK V
A D 1518

frontier of Muk and Karatigin, he allotted to Kámrán Mírza, giving him Chaker Ali Beg Kulábi, the son of Sultan Weis Beg, as Amín-ul-omra to accompany him to his province. He permitted Mírza Askeri to go with Kámrán, bestowing on him the district of Karatigin. These assignments were little more than nominal. Kuláb was considered as dependant on Badakhshán, Karatigin probably was not. Chaker Ali was governor of Kuláb, but, at the same time, was a sort of independent chief, who did not owe much submission either to Humáyun or Suleimán. The Emperor's seal-bearer presented Kámrán, when near Nárín, with the *peiwána*, or grant of his new territory, and congratulated him on his appointment. It gave Kámrán but little satisfaction. What "said he," have I not been sovereign of Kábul and of Badakhshán? And is not Kuláb a mere *pergana*, or district, of the latter? "How can I serve in it?" "I have heard that you are wise," said the keeper of the seals, "and I know you to be so. May I be permitted respectfully to observe, that, after all that has passed, the wonder rather may be, that you have got even this, or any thing." The justice of the observation was felt by Kámrán. He, next day, waited upon the Emperor, was honoured with a *khilát*, and the investiture of Kuláb, and, accompanied by Askeri and Chaker Khan, set out for his government. Many of Chaker Khan's followers left him, and attached themselves to Kámrán. Their army broke up. Suleimán Mírza and his son Ibráhím continued to hold the government of Badakhshán, to which Talhán was added, with Kishem and some other districts. Mírza Hindal retained Kunduz with Ghuri, Kahmerd, Baklán, Ishkemish and Nárín. Shír Ali remained with him as Minister. They all repaired to their governments, while Humáyun proceeded to Khost, and thence to Perán, on his route to the Penjshír pass.*

* Bayezíd, f. 39—41, Akbarnáma, &c., as above.

Peri'm was a fort, which the great Tammúr had built, when he chastised the infidels of Kittúr. Humáym, who found it in ruins, resolved to restore it. For that purpose, when the army came up, he divided the work among all his Amirs, each having a particular portion allotted to him to build or repair, and so effectively did the work proceed, that in the course of the ten days that the army tarried there, the fort, with its walls, gateways and defences, was completely restored. The name of the place he changed to Islanábád, the "City of the True Faith." He also made enquiries as to the silver mines in the vicinity, but found that they would not repay the expense of working. Having crossed the mountains, and descending by the banks of the Panshar river, he halted some time at the Ashterkum pass, so that it was the beginning of winter before he reached Kábul, and the ground was already covered with snow. After waiting some time for a lucky day, he made his entry into the town on the 5th day of October A. D. 1518.*

CHAP. III
SECT. II

Returns to
Kábul

Ramzán 2
October 5

* Akbernama, f. 77, 1ar. Nizami, ff. 200, 201, Joulier, c. 23

BOOK V

A D 1548

Embassies
from Kásh-
ghar and to
Persia.

Embassy
from Kash-
mír

Recent his-
tory of that
country

A D 947,
A D 1540

At this time he received an embassy from Abdal-Reshíd Khan, the son of Sultan Saíd Khan, the chief of Káshgar, and he despatched one to Shah Tahmasp, most probably to deprecate his resentment for still continuing to keep possession of Kandahár, and to keep alive his hopes of its being restored at no distant period.

But the embassy which most interested him was one that arrived from Kashmír from his cousin Haider Mírza Doghlat. It will be recollected that when Humáyun was defeated, and compelled to abandon first Delhi, and afterwards Láhúr, he had resolved to accompany Haider Mírza and Khwája Kilán, in an attempt to conquer Kashmír. When every thing was arranged for that purpose, and the Mírza was waiting for him at the entrance into the mountains of that country, the sudden approach of Shír Shah had spread a general alarm, in consequence of which Khwája Kilán had fled towards Kámrán on the Jelem, and, either faithless to his engagements with Humáyun, or seized and carried off against his will by Kámrán, as was pretended, had accompanied him to Kábul. Humáyun, thus cut off from communication with Haider Mírza, and fearing a design on the part of Kámrán to deprive him of his personal liberty, had proceeded through the desert, and joining Hindal and Yádgár Násir Mírza, marched on in hopes of gaining possession of Bheker and Tatta. Mírza Haider, thus deprived of the reinforcements he had reckoned upon, as well as of the advantage of the Emperor's name, determined to proceed in his enterprise, with such imperfect means as he possessed.

The beautiful region of Kashmír had long been a prey to intestine commotions, chiefly occasioned by the two rival families of Chak and Makrí, which contended for the office of Prime Minister under princes, who, whether from nonage or other incapacity, were quite unfit to direct the affairs of such a kingdom. In the course of these contentions, the party of Abdal Makrí having

been expelled, had, through the medium of Hinder Mirza, applied for assistance, first from Kámrán, and afterwards from Humayun, while he yet filled the throne of Delhi. The Mirza who was Biber's cousin-german, was not a stranger to Káshmir. About eight years before, Sudákhin the sovereign of Kashghar, encouraged by the distracted state of the country, had sent his son Sekander Sultan, accompanied by Hinder Mirza, at the head of an army of 12,000 men, which advanced from the north by the valley of Lár, and took possession of the capital. This Tartar force committed the devastation usual to barbarous troops, and was soon loaded with booty. Muhámmad Sháh, the king of Káshmir, and his chiefs, with numbers of the inhabitants, fled to recesses in the surrounding mountains whence they descended to harass and attack the invaders. Hinder, after being nearly three months in possession of the country, made a treaty with the Káshmirian lords, and their nominal king, by which it was agreed, that Sekander Sultan should marry that monarch's daughter, and that the Tartar army should return back to Kashghar.

CHAP. III
SECT. III

A. H. 979,
A. D. 1533

Sháhán 2
March 6

End of
Sháhán,
about
May 20,

Hinder Mirza, after his return to Kashghar, had an eventful life. He was finally obliged to quit the country, and, passing through Badakhshan, repaired, as we have seen in an earlier part of this history, first to the court of Kámrán, and afterwards to that of Humayun, whom he attended in his disastrous campaign of Kanauj, and afterwards in his flight to Láhúr, where he prevailed upon him to attempt the conquest of Káshmir. When he found, however, that Humayun had taken the route of Bheker, and so abandoned his enterprise of Káshmir, he resolved to prosecute it himself with such means as were in his power, trusting for success to the distracted state of the kingdom, and the assistance of the refugee chiefs and their partizans, by whom he had been invited. He, accordingly, put in motion his troops, which

and of
Hinder
Mirza.

BOOK V

A H 917,
Rebel 22
A D 1540
Nov 22

amounted to about 4,000 men Malek Achi Chak, who then governed the kingdom in the name of Názúk, the nominal king, collected an army of 3,000 horse, and a large body of infantry to oppose him, and took possession of the Karmal pass, to obstruct his entrance into the country But Haider Mirza, proceeding unobserved by unfrequented routes, after overcoming great difficulties, surmounted, on the twenty-second day of November, the steep pass of Paníj, which Malek Achi had neglected, thinking it impracticable to cavalry, descended on Sínagar, the capital of Kashmir, and without bloodshed or opposition, took possession of it, and of the country Malek Achi's army, filled with consternation, disbanded, and he himself, seeing no hopes of regaining his ascendancy by the strength of his own party, repaired to the court of Shír Shah, carrying with him a daughter of the late king, whom he gave in marriage to the Afghán prince Aided by Shír Shah, he was enabled to re-enter Kashmir at the head of 2,000 horse He was soon joined by his adherents, and his force rose to 5,000 cavalry But Haider Mirza and the Kashmirian chiefs in his interest, attacked, and completely routed the invaders, and the Míza, in spite of numerous intrigues and factions, became the ruler of the whole of Kashmir.

A H 948,
Rebel 11 20
A D 1541
August 13

Mirza Haider had now ruled Kashmir seven or eight years with all the authority of an absolute prince, though he administered the government at first under the name of Názúk Shah, the native king, and, after the return of Humáyun to Kábul, in the name of that prince, when, anxious to form a still closer connection with the Emperor in his future plans, he deputed Mir Samander on a mission to Kábul The envoy met Humáyun soon after his return from Talhán. The Míza in his letters, with every profession of loyalty and attachment, invited his majesty to Kashmir, and gave a glowing description of the charms of its climate, of its

A H 955,
A D 1548
He invites
Humáyun
to Kashmir,
and the in-
vasion of
India.

spring and autumn, with their flowers and fruits, and of all the delights of that favoured region. But the grand recommendation which he pointed out, was that it would serve as an impregnable position from which His Majesty could pour down his troops for the conquest of Hindustan, an enterprize which he urged him to attempt without delay.

Nothing could have been more in accordance with the wishes of Humayun. The invasion of that country, and the expulsion of the Afghan dynasty, had long been the favourite dream of his ambition. But to march across the Indus at that moment was to endanger his kingdom of Cabul and his own existence. Every thing had been arranged for an attack on Balkh, and as it was of the first importance to settle his territories beyond the mountains, and to secure his other dominions from the intestine dangers to which they were so subject, before he ventured to engage in distant expeditions, he resolved to proceed with the expedition he had undertaken. He, however, returned a favourable answer to Huder Mirza's invitation, of which he assured him he was determined to avail himself as soon as his expedition against Balkh was over, and his troops ready to take the field for a new enterprize. Such, undoubtedly, was Humayun's intention. But it was long before he could carry it into effect. He had still many reverses to undergo, nor was Huder Mirza doomed to aid him in its execution. That eminent man continued for some time longer to rule in Kashmir. He added Great and Little Tibet, Rajput* and Pakhel to his dominions. He was a prince of distinguished talent. Finding the country which he had conquered to be in a very wretched condition, he devoted himself assiduously to its improvement, and attempted to restore the industry of his subjects. He encouraged agriculture, invited mechanics and artisans from a distance, and employed them in the construction of public and

His character and administration

BOOK V

private works Under his care, says Abulfazl, the country became a garden, and the ornament of the world That historian blames him for the excessive attention he paid to the fine arts, and especially to music, as having occupied so much of his time as to interfere with his attention to public affairs He was finally slain, about two or three years after the period of which we treat, in a night attack of some native chiefs who had conspired against him, and surrounded the house in which he slept. He was a man of worth, of talent and of learning, and the *Tarikh-e Reshidī*, a History of his own Times, which he left behind him, is one of the most valuable works of that age.*

A H 958,
A D 1551

Position of
Kámrán

The state of affairs at Kábul was not certainly such as would have justified Humáyun in undertaking new and distant adventures The allegiance of his brother Kámrán was far from being assured, and that prince, who had so long governed Kábul, might be supposed still to have partizans in that country, who could create trouble, should the Emperor march towards Hindustán Kámrán had already quarrelled with Chaker Khan, and they had come to open hostilities When invited to repair to Kábul, on the promise of Humáyun to provide him with another principality, the Mírza had declined the invitation The Emperor had resolved to make a campaign against Báلكh, which he seems to have promised to Kámrán, as his government

Humáyun's
expedition
against
Báلكh
A H 956,
A D 1549

As soon, therefore, in the following year as the weather permitted, Humáyun summoned his troops to attend him, and left Kábul The object of the expedition, though probably carefully concealed, was Báلكh That country had been wrested from the Persians by the Uzbeks, and was held by Pír Muhammed Khan, a young Uzbek prince, who had received and assisted Kámrán when driven from Kábul Humáyun probably considered the assistance so rendered to his

* Akbernáma, f 55

brother, as a sufficient excuse for the attack which he meditated, while the possession of a rich and extensive territory, that would have given him the command of the whole of the left bank of the Amu down to the desert, was probably his most powerful motive. He sent to warn Kámrán and the other Mírzás in the North, to be ready to co-operate with him, as had been arranged at the end of the preceding campaign. He was detained about a month at Yúnet Chálák, not far from Kábul, waiting for Háji Muhammed Khan from Ghazni, and by other business of importance, and while yet at that station, he was joined by Míza Ibrá-hím from Badakhshán. The army at length moved to Istalíf, where Abás Sultan, an Uzbek prince who had just married Humáyun's youngest sister*, probably suspecting that the expedition was directed against his countrymen, disappeared without taking leave. Humáyun advanced deliberately by the Penjshír route, waiting to hear that the Mírzás were in motion, and immediately on learning that they were in the field, he marched down to Anderáb, and thence by Talikán to Nári†, and crossing the high grounds between the Bángi and Ghuri rivers by the pass of Nári, halted in the Nílber valley, celebrated, beyond all the valleys of that region, for its beauty in the spring. Here he was joined by Mírza Hindal from Kunduz, and by Mírza Suleimán from Badakhshán, but Kámrán did not make his appearance. Kámrán, though he had quarrelled with Chakeri Ali Beg Kulabi, the son of Sultan Weiss Beg, the chief of the country, and the minister assigned him by Humáyun, and though he had even driven him out of Kuláb, had, however, kept up a correspondence with the Emperor, assuring him of his fidelity, and of his being prepared to co-operate with him. Trusting to these assurances, Humáyun had marched on, expecting

Kámrán
fails to join
him

* Gulchehreh-Begum

† Or Narín

BOOK V
A D 1549

to be joined by his brother. When he at length found that Kámrán failed to appear, both he and the Mírzas began to feel considerable anxiety. Mírza Ibráhím was sent back, at Mírza Suleimán's request, to provide for the safety of Badakhshán, and to embody a force in that country.

Siege and
surrender
of Eibek.

Having arrived at Baghlán*, the Emperor pushed forward the Mírzas Hindal and Suleimán with a strong force to Eibek, a fertile and populous district in the territory of Báلكh, defended by a strong fort. As the detachment approached the chief town, it met Pír Muhammed Khan's Atálík or Minister, who, hearing of the Emperor's approach to the Uzbek territory, had hastened, attended by the chief officers of his government and a large body of troops, to place Eibek and the frontier in a state of defence, and to check the invaders. On his arrival near that town, however, he unexpectedly encountered the Emperor's troops, and, contrary to his intention, was compelled to throw himself into the castle of Eibek, unprovided as it was. Humáyun instantly sat down before the place, and pushed on his approaches with such vigour, that in a few days the besieged, who had neither water nor provisions, asked quarter, which was granted, and the city surrendered †.

Delays of
Humáyun

At an entertainment given by Humáyun on this occasion, when the cup had gone round, he is said to have asked Khwája Bagh, the Atálík, what were the best steps to be taken to ensure the conquest of Báلكh. The Uzbek, surprised at the question, after reflecting a little, answered, that being an enemy, he was not perhaps the safest person to consult. The Emperor replied, that Uzbeks were downright honest men, and he knew him to be the frankest of the Uzbeks. The Atálík rising up said, "If you would conquer Báلكh, cut off our heads,

* Or Baklán

† Akbernama, f 77, Bayezid, f 42

hasten on to the capital, and it will be yours." "You are Muslims," said the Emperor, "how can I put so many believers to death?" "If you will not do this," said the Atalik, "I have another proposal to suggest. Pír Muhammed Khan is much directed by me. I will undertake that all the country on your side of Khulm shall be ceded to you, that the Khutba shall be used in your name, and that he will send a thousand chosen men to attend you when you march against Hindustán." This proposal, too, the Emperor rejected. It was generally believed that, had he pushed on at once to Balkh, after taking Eibek, Pír Muhammed, who was filled with consternation by the blow he had received from the loss of all his best troops and officers, who was himself unprepared, and had received no assistance from the Uzbeks beyond the river, must have submitted at discretion to any terms proposed. Humáyun sent the Uzbek Sultans, Amirs and Bis, or chiefs of tribes, whom he had taken, to Kábul, keeping with him only the Atalik.*

The Emperor halted several days at Eibek, chiefly in consequence of his anxiety at the non-arrival of Kámaran. At length, however, he again put his army in motion, and advanced towards Balkh, by the way of Khulm. When they reached Astáneh, the shrine of Sháh Aulia, the ground for the camp was taken near a stream that flowed hard by, the Audience Hall had not yet been put in order, the people of the bazar were just come up, and were busy arranging their loads, and the Emperor, who had been on a visit to the holy shrine, was in his private tent, quite unconscious of the vicinity of an enemy, when a loud shouting and uproar was heard in the direction of the camp bazar. An attack had been unexpectedly made in that quarter. Kabuh, an officer of rank, who had hastened to the rescue, had fallen, and his head was cut off and carried to Balkh.

Sudden at
tack of the
Uzbeks

* Bavezul, ff 42, 43, Akbarnama f 78

BOOK V
A.D. 1119

An Uzbek, Khan Beháder, who had been disabled by a sabre cut and made prisoner, was brought before the Emperor Humáyun asked him who it was that had made this attack on the camp. The prisoner answered that it was Shah Muhammed Sultan, of Hissár, the son of Berendúk Sultan. The Emperor asked if he was mad. "Sure," said the Uzbek, "he is a young man of high spirit and full of confidence. Since leaving Hissár he has not yet seen Pír Muhammed Khan, and is anxious to signalize himself before entering Báikh." Humáyun thus learned that the Uzbeks from beyond the Amu were beginning to arrive.

Continued
absence of
Kamran

The army, however, continued its march, and next morning advanced towards the numerous canals* and streams that intersect the country near Báikh. Though the progress of the army had been slow, expecting the arrival of Kámián, it had now reached Báikh, and he had not yet arrived. It seemed evident that he had no intention of coming, and a general apprehension was diffused among the troops that he intended, while they were engaged in the siege of Báikh, to give them the slip, and march once more to Kábul. So that, says Bayezíd, who was then in the camp, they were more afraid of the Mírza than of the Uzbeks †.

Repulse of
the Uzbek
advance

In the course of the day, about afternoon prayers, Mírza Sulaimán, Mírza Hindal, and Hájí Muhammed Sultan Koka, who had the advance, attacked the advance of the Uzbeks, commanded by Abdalla Sultan and Khosron Sultan, sons of Sekander Sultan, near the Takhteh-pul, and drove them across the bridge, which they also passed to the Báikh side of the stream. For his exertions on this occasion Hájí Muhammed was honoured with the patent of Khan. The whole army advanced by the canals of Báikh to within about half a kos from the town, and encamped for the night. A

* Jumburha

† Bayezíd, ff 53, 54

BOOK V

A D 1549

ground on the banks of the river that flows through the Dera-Gez. In the course of the night the Uzbeks had been apprised of the retreat of their enemy, and issued out in force to pursue them. To retreat in order and with coolness in the face of an enemy, is one of the most difficult achievements even of veteran regular troops, but with an irregular army is hardly possible. The imperial soldiers no sooner found that they were on their march for the Dera-Gez, with their faces turned towards Kábul, than, believing that Kámrán was already master of that place and of their families, they were seized with consternation, and numbers of them, separating from the army, made the best of their way home across the hills, in bands or singly. All attempts to arrest or bring them back were fruitless. The panic had become complete. The Uzbeks, who went in pursuit of the retreating army, were not long of overtaking the rear-guard in the morning, when it had reached the Dera-Gez. The Uzbeks charged, and met with a short and slight resistance. It soon gave way and dispersed, the Uzbeks killing or unhorsing all whom they overtook. Humáyun was at the time not far off, standing on the other side of the river with a body of his servants. News was brought to him that the Uzbeks were close upon Mírza Hindal, and that Malek Mírza had been taken. He was much distressed. "Mírza Hindal," said the keeper of the seal, "is no child, but a soldier, and will come on the best way he can." Humáyun ordered an officer who was standing by, to go and get word of Hindal. He was himself preparing to cross, when a party of Uzbeks who reached the opposite bank, discharged an arrow at the Emperor, from an eminence. Bayezíd, who was present, tells us that he held up his shield to protect his Majesty's person, but the arrow struck the Emperor's horse in the breast. It was a favourite horse, which he had got, when at Herát, from the minister of the

Panic in
his army

Rout

young prince The Uzbeks were, however, driven off, and the Emperor pursued his retreat Having advanced a little way, he ordered Husein Kuli Sultan to rally the men and form them, so as to resist the Uzbeks He answered that it would be better to allow those who were now with his Majesty to go on, as they would be unwilling to turn and leave him "Not a man of them," continued he, "will at this moment mind my orders" "Yon yourself," said the Emperor, "do not now heed my orders" "Emperor of the world," answered Husein Kuli, "pardon me," and turned back, saying to the author, "Come you along with me, and let the other servants attend his Majesty" As the fugitives came up, such as Khizer Khwāra Khan, Mosāhib Beg, Muhammed Kāsim Mochi, Shāhem Beg Jelair and others, Husein Kuli called upon them to turn and fight But nothing he could say, could induce any of them to stand and help him "All were striving," continues Bayezid*, each to get the other's horse, pulling it to themselves At last the Mulhār (keeper of the seal) was compelled also to draw off He overtook Humāyun about noon, who received him most kindly, and praised him in the most cordial manner The Emperor's adventures for some succeeding days, when he sought to repass the mountains by unknown or little-frequented roads, a prey to thirst, hunger and fatigue, and guided by the barbarous inhabitants, are related in the truest and most picturesque manner by Bayezid†, who was a sharer in his flight At length, by the route of Kahmeid and Ghurbend, he reached the vicinity of Kābul, which he entered on the first day of the fast of Ramzān In the midst of the general rout and panic that took place in the Dera-Gez, some chiefs are mentioned as having distinguished themselves, Hindal Mīrza, Terdī Beg,

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.

Flight to-
wards Kā-
bul.

Ramzān 1
Sept. 23

* Bayezid, f 45

† Bayezid, ff 45—50

BOOK V

A D 1550

Monaim Khan, Shah Bidágh and Tulik Khan Kochín are particularly named. When the rout was seen to be irreparable, the leaders dispersed, taking different roads. Mírza Suleimán returned to Badakhshán Hindal, attended by Monaim Khan, found his way to Kunduz. Many of the Emperor's Amírs and officers, among whom was Shah Bidágh, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Atálík and other Uzbeks, who had been made prisoners at Eibek, having been allowed to return to Báلكh, made so favourable a report of the handsome treatment which they had met with, that Pír Muhammed, to show his sense of this conduct, sent back all his prisoners to Kábul, in the most humane manner, a striking instance, when contrasted with the consequences of the recent cruelties exercised at Kábul, how in war generosity produces generosity, while retaliation of injury generates the darkest passions that disgrace human nature.

Humáyun
winters in
Kábul.

Proceeding
of Kámrán.

Humáyun, on reaching Kábul, found everything safe, and that Kámrán had never in reality attempted to cross the mountains. He passed the winter in the Bála Hissár of Kábul. Kámrán, meanwhile, whose failure to join his brother had been the real cause of the late discomfiture, resolved to take advantage of the Emperor's misfortunes, to increase his own power. We have seen that he was but little satisfied with the allotment of Kuláb, which had been made to him when he was reconciled to his brother, that he had very soon become embroiled with Chaker Alí Beg, the Minister assigned him by Humáyun, and had expelled him from his province. He, nevertheless, made every profession of allegiance to the Emperor, who, confiding in his promises, had marched to Báلكh, when Kámrán's breach of promise led to the most disastrous consequences. No sooner had Humáyun recrossed the mountains, than Kámrán, who is said, for some time before, to have been carrying on a secret correspondence with several

of his brother's chief Ministers, hastened to improve the opportunity for his own advantage Leaving Askeri Mírza, therefore, in Kuláb, he marched to seize the dominions of Suleimán Mírza *

CHAP. III.
SECT. III.

Suleimán, unable to oppose him, retired from Tahlkán without fighting, and fell back upon Kila-Zefer Kám-rán entered Tahlkán, which he gave to Bápus Beg, and advanced to Kila-Zefer Suleimán, placing Ishak Sultan in that fortress, the principal one of Badakhshán, withdrew to the highlands and narrow valleys of the upper country, and waited at the village of Jurm, in an inaccessible position, to see what turn affairs would take in the country below

His attempt
on Badakh-
shán,

Kámran, finding that nothing could be effected by any operations against Suleimán in Badakhshán, marched down to Kunduz He there attempted to work upon Hindal Mírza by professions of friendship, and by representing their interests as being the same, to enter into an alliance with him, and to desert Humáyun Hindal, however, did not listen to his proposals, but remained faithful to his allegiance Upon this, Kámran laid siege to the place, and pushed on his operations with vigour, while Hindal omitted no exertion in its defence Kámran, seeing himself baffled in all his attempts, at last asked assistance from the Usbeks, with whom he entered into a treaty, and a large auxiliary force was soon sent to assist him in the siege Hindal, being hard pushed by this new and active enemy, had recourse to a stratagem, which seems to be a standing one in Eastern wars He caused a letter to be written in Kámran's name, addressed to himself, proceeding on the supposition that the two Mírzas had made up their differences, and entering into details as to the best plan for overreaching the Uzbeks The letter was entrusted to a kásid, or messenger, who, it

and on
Kunduz

* Akbarnama, ff 78, 79, Tab Akb ff 163, 164, Tar Niz ff 200, 201, Jouher, c 24, Ferishta, vol. II pp 165, 166, Khol ul To-wárikh, f 267, above all Bayezid, f 42^o-50 He is very minute

BOOK V

A. D. 1650

was contrived, fell into the hands of the Uzbeks. He was searched, and the letter discovered. The Uzbeks, concluding that the brothers had made a reconciliation to which they were to be sacrificed, alarmed and disgusted, abandoned the siege, and returned home. In consequence of this defection, the operations made little progress.

Returns to
Kuláb

It was about this time that news reached Kámrán, that Chaker Ali Beg had descended from the mountainous country into which he had been driven, and was plundering and laying waste the territory of Kuláb. Askeri, who had marched out to chastise him, was defeated, and compelled to take shelter in the town. By Kámrán's orders, Askeri marched out against him a second time, and was a second time routed. This compelled Kámrán to raise the siege of Kunduz, the rather as he learned that Suleimán Mírza had descended from his mountain retreat, and had formed a junction with Ishak Sultan at Kila-Zefer, of which he had taken possession. Kámrán, detaching a body of troops to check the advance of Suleimán, himself hastened to Kuláb. On his approach, Chaker Beg hurriedly raised the siege, and Askeri marched out and joined his brother.

Is defeated
by the Uz-
beks

Kámrán, taking Askeri along with him, now marched back to meet Mírza Suleimán. He had reached Rostak*, near which he was encamped, when a large body of Uzbeks under Saíd, who had gone out on a foray, observing a camp at a distance, fell upon it, without inquiring whose it was, and completely plundered it. Kámrán, Askeri and Mírza Abdalla Moghul, with a few of their men, escaped to Talikán. Saíd, on learning the real state of matters, sent back the prisoners and plunder that had fallen into his hands, excusing himself to the Mírza for having, by mistake, carried off his baggage. But the mischief done was irreparable. Kámrán's army was broken and dispersed. Suleimán

* Rostak lies on the Kokcha branch of the Amu

BOOK V

A. D. 1550

the most favourable light for that prince, who, with many high and agreeable qualities, was evidently very thoughtless and very impolitic. We may sometimes, from the course of events, infer that suspicions of treachery are alleged to save the credit of the prince. At the same time, that treachery was common, and left little imputation on the character of the traitor, is no less evident from the whole history of the times.

When Kámrán, after his disaster on the Amu, was crossing the mountains, he received communications from the discontented Amírs, urging him to march at once upon Kábul, where they would join him. To lull the suspicions of Humáyun, the Mírza sent him envoys to announce his coming, the object of which he pretended was to ask forgiveness for his late offences, and to submit himself in every respect to the Emperor's orders, relying solely on his never-failing clemency. Humáyun is said to have listened with favour to these pretences, till reminded by his counsellors how little faith could be placed in his brother's representations, and that any new indulgence which the Emperor might grant him, might be ascribed rather to weakness than generosity. Humáyun, therefore, made preparations for intercepting the Mírza, and leaving Kábul to the nominal charge of Akber, under the direction of Muhammed Kásim Khan Birlás, he marched for the hills by Kárábágh and Charikarán, and halted for a time at Ab-Bárán.*

A. H. 957,

Humayun
prepares to
seize him

Divides his
forces.

Here Kerácha and the Emperor's other advisers,—for Kerácha seems still to have had influence,—recommended that the different passes in the mountainous country should be occupied, so as to prevent the Mírza's escape. Abulfazl asserts that this advice was given for the purpose of weakening the Emperor's force. But, if Kámrán was suspected of attempting, with his broken

* Abulfazl says he left Kabul in the middle of 957

bands, to reach the Hazáras, it was only by some such operation that he could have been intercepted. Accordingly Hapí Muhammed Khan was sent towards Zohák and Bámán with one strong division, and Monaim Khan towards Sal-Auleng with another. It is affirmed that at this time, Kerácha Khan and the conspirators sent daily reports to Kámán of all that passed in the imperial camp, and that, when every thing was prepared for the Mirza's success, by the dispersion of the army, he was instructed to turn away from Zohák and Bámán which he had reached, and listening by forced marches towards the Dera Kipchak, a dependency of Ghurbend, where Humáyun lay with his diminished force, to fall upon him by surprise. It is said that the Emperor's suspicions were lulled asleep by the constant asseverations of those about him, that Kámán's only anxiety was to throw himself at the Emperor's feet. But the division of the troops for the purpose of intercepting him, shows that this was not altogether relied upon, and it seems clear that Humáyun was not only ill-informed of his brother's movements, but supposed his force to be much less than it really was.

The Emperor had passed up the defile of Kipchák, and was encamped at the upper end of it, when, about nine in the morning, a servant of Mui Asghar Munshi, one of the officers appointed to guard the pass, arrived full speed and out of breath, calling out, "The Míza is coming," which spread an alarm among the men. Humáyun, being angry, ordered the man's head to be struck off. The troops were instantly armed, and marched for the Dera, or valley. They soon came within sight of the Mírza's advance. When Humáyun had got a bowshot within the valley, a hill was seen another bowshot farther off, behind a projection of which the Míza's advance, under his son-in-law Ak Sultan, had taken their station. The ground in front of this projection was broken and rocky. Hussein

Is surprised
by Kámán

BOOK V

A D 1550

Kulī Sultan, the Keeper of the Seal, Kunduk Sultan brother of Bīram Ughlan, Mīrza Kulī Chohī, Pīr Muhammed Akhteh and others bravely pushed on to drive them from their position, but, the ground being steep and difficult, they did not succeed. Pīr Muhammed was slain by an arrow. Mīrza Kulī's horse fell and broke his rider's leg. His son, who was with the guards, while charging to remount and carry off his father, was also slain. The Muhrdār's horse was wounded, and threw him. Bayezīd, who attended him, brought another horse, and succeeded in remounting him, and in carrying him off to the Emperor's lines.

Want of
zeal among
Humáyūn's
chiefs

The Emperor himself now advanced. When he reached the spot where the slain were lying, Kámrán made his appearance on the projecting hill with his wives and daughters, followed by the rest of his troops. The Emperor's matchlock-men, says Bayezīd, did not load their pieces with ball, most of them having been in the service of the Mīrza at Kábul. The Mīrza's people keeping up an uninterrupted discharge of arrows, most of the horses and men of His Majesty's party were soon wounded. At this period, continues Bayezīd, Kásim Husein Khan was on the other side of the river, and had before him a good way by which he might have reached the Mīrza's advance, but he made no onset, and stood still. None other of the Sirdars ventured to charge the Mīrza. Kámrán, perceiving that they were shaken, marched down the declivity, and pushed on straight for the standards. The standard-bearers, not thinking themselves able to keep their ground, turned and fled, and Kásim Husein Khan with his force fled also.

Flight, and
wound of
Humáyūn

The rout was now general, and Humáyūn joined in the flight, returning back the road by which he had come. One Babái of Kuláb, overtaking him,—whether he knew who he was is uncertain,—struck him a heavy blow on his cap* which wounded him behind the ear, and

had raised his sword to repeat the blow, when Humáyun, turning round, and looking his assailant sternly in the face, exclaimed, "Wretched rebel!" Babái, from surprise, suspended his blow for a moment, when Mehter Sığái, the wardrobe keeper, afterwards known as Ferikhat Khan, interposed, and Babái drew off. Humáyun was supported, and born away on horse-back. Muhammed Amír and Abdal Waháb protected his retreat. Humáyun, however, was so severely wounded, and so faint from loss of blood, that, in the course of his flight, he threw off his jabba, a quilted or padded corselet, which he gave to one of his servants to carry. The man, being pursued, soon afterwards threw it away, to lighten himself in his flight, an incident that was afterwards followed by very important consequences.

Humáyun now resolved to push for Zohák and Bá-mán, where he expected to find Hájí Muhammed and his division, who had gone up by the Sirtan pass. As he had become faint, and was unable to bear the motion of his own spouted horse, he exchanged it for a small ambling pyc-bald one, offered him by Mui Syed Birkeh, on which he was lifted, and the Mír and Khwája Khuzer, riding on each side of him, supported him as he went along. Towards the end of the night, he reached the entrance of the Sirtán pass, having been joined by a few of the fugitives. The cold air and fatigue had by this time much affected him, and he again felt faint from his wound. Mír Birkeh took off his cloak, and threw it over him. It was morning when he gained the top of the pass, where he soon began to feel the heat of the morning sun, and halted by the side of a stream, where he had his wound washed and dressed, and said his orisons and, not long after, Hájí Muhammed Khan arrived with three hundred well equipped veteran horse. This placed Humáyun in comparative security.*

He is joined
by a rein-
forcement

* The spirit of defection was still in operation. He one day sent out Shah Bidagh Khan, Tulik Kochín, Majnun and others to the number

BOOK. V

A D 1550

Proceeds to
the north.

As he still suffered much from his wound, he remained for some days in the hills about Zohák and Bámián. Meanwhile, however, he consulted with his Amírs, what steps were most advisable to be taken. Háji Muhammed advised going to Kandahár, others were for pushing on for Kábul, while some were for retiring upon the provinces on the Amu. Shah Muhammed, Háji's brother, was sent down with Háji's men to pass through Kábul, and to proceed to secure Ghazni. Humáyun wrote by him to Akber, to announce at once his defeat, and his safety. Having himself finally resolved to proceed to the northern provinces, he went on to Kahmerd*. On his route, he was entertained by the wandering Aimáks, according to their notions of hospitality. While with them, he learned the approach, first, of one caravan with 300 horses, and afterwards of another with 1700, on their way from the west of Hindustán. Of these Humáyun seized as many as suited his purpose, giving his bond for the amount. From Kahmerd he proceeded by Alenjeck, where he halted a week, and then went on, and encamped on the banks of the Bángi. Here, as they were mistaken for a caravan, a voice was heard from the other side of the river, inquiring, what news they had of the Emperor. Humáyun ordered that no answer should be given, but that in return they should ask, Who the enquirer was, —by whom sent, —and what he had heard of the Em-

of ten, on a reconnoissance towards Kábul. Of the whole number Tuhk Kochin only returned.

* The ewer-bearer relates several amusing anecdotes chiefly regarding the difficulties to which Humáyun was reduced, and to his want of clothing. It was long before they could get for him, wounded as he was, a samiana, or awning fit to cover one person, his coat being clotted with blood, he was glad to

get back a cast off coat, which he had given a domestic, by whom it had been worn, his trowsers being spotted with blood, an old woman brought and presented to him a pair of her own silk drawers. "These," said he, "were never intended for man to wear, but necessity has no law," and he drew them on. He gave the woman a present, with a certificate relieving her from all taxes. Jouher, c 24

peror? The man informed them that he was of the Meshi tribe, and had been sent by Nazeri Sal-Alengi to get news of the Emperor, as a report had reached them that His Majesty had been defeated, had left the field of battle wounded, and had never since been heard of, but that the quilted cuirass, which he wore in the fight, had been found, covered with blood, and carried to Kámrán, who was overjoyed, believing that the Emperor had perished. The man was desired to come over, brought into the Emperor's presence, and asked if he knew who it was. "Can the Grace of God be obscured?" said he,* on which he was dismissed, and ordered to spread the news as widely as he could, and to desire his master to meet the Emperor when he returned that way.

At Khunjan the Emperor met Mírza Hindal who accompanied him to Anderáb, where he was joined by Mírza Suleiman and his son Ibrahim Mírza, as well as by all the detachments which had been sent out before the action to intercept Mírza Kámrán, and every preparation was now made for recrossing the mountains to Kábul †

And prepares to return to Kábul

But it is time to return to Kámrán, whom we left on the field of battle at the Dera Kipchak. When told that Humáyun was entirely defeated and had fled, he could hardly believe his own good fortune. The defeated troops fled by three different roads, by that of Ghurbend, by the direct road to Kábul, and by the road to Istálif. Parties were sent in pursuit of them all. Numbers were overtaken and slain, or stripped of whatever they possessed. The Hazáras too, ever ready for indiscriminate plunder, infested the ways, stopped

Conduct of Kámrán.

* This answer is that recorded by Abulfazl. The ever-bearer merely says that the man did recognize him.

† Akbernáma, ff 80, 81, Tar Nizamí, ff 201, 202, Tab Ak-

berí, 164, 165, Jouher, c. 24, Bayezid, ff 50—53, Kholaset-ul-Fowárikh, f 267. Both Jouher and Bayezid were in the action.

BOOK V

A D 1550

all whom they met, and robbed them of their horses, arms, and clothing Kámrán's flatterers soon restored him to his accustomed presumption Before he left the ground, Bába Saíd brought in Kerácha, who was wounded The Mírza addressed him courteously, inquiring if his wound was severe, and soon restored him to his wonted favour and authority. Soon after, Husein-kulí Sultan, the keeper of the seal, a man much esteemed both by Humáyun and his father, was brought in as a prisoner when Kámrán himself struck him with his sabre, and commanded him to be hewn to pieces in his own presence Takhjí Beg, another old and respected Amír, shared the same fate Bába Kulábi arrived with information that the Emperor was wounded, immediately upon which, Yasan Doulat was despatched with a party to attempt to overtake him in his flight Kásim Husein Sultan, who had taken little part in the action, retired when it was over to a neighbouring hill, from which he was soon after induced to descend, and enter the Mírza's service

The Mírza proceeded, without loss of time, to Charikár, where a man arrived bringing the Emperor's bloody cuirass, which completed the Mírza's satisfaction He hastened on to Kábul, and at once sat down before it Kásim Khan Birlás who commanded in the place, though formerly a servant of Kámrán, determined to hold out faithfully for the Emperor, unmoved by the reports which universally prevailed, till they were confirmed by the bold assertions of the Mírza, and by a sight of the bloody cuirass, which was sent in for him to examine Convinced by the statements that were made, and by this melancholy confirmation of them, and believing resistance to be now fruitless, he surrendered the town, and Akber became a third time a prisoner in the hands of his uncle *

He occupies
Kábul.

* Akbernama, &c as above

Kámrán now lost no time in increasing his army, and in dividing the different governments of Kábul among his partizans. His prime adviser was Kerácha. He gave Júi-Sháhi (now Jelálábád) to Askari, Ghazni to Kerácha, and Ghurbend to Yasan Doulat. He seized all Humáyun's treasures, and, having imprisoned his Diwán, extorted large sums from him. He did to himself whatever he could, by all kinds of tyranny and extortion, so that, if he enriched his treasury, he impoverished his kingdom.

CHAP. III
SECT. III

But he was not left long to carry on these operations in peace. Three months had not passed when news was brought to Kábul that Humáyun still lived, and was marching from Anderáb, at the head of a formidable army. Kámrán immediately concentrated his army, and being joined by a number of Hazaras and other mountaineers, moved forward to meet him, before he could descend to the low country.

Advance of
Humáyun

By the time Humáyun had lain about six weeks at Anderáb, he had been joined by many detached bodies of his army, and had collected such a force, that, his wound being now cured, he resolved once more to march over the hills to Kábul, and, it being still summer, to take the direct route of Hindu-koh. There had recently been so many instances of defection and desertion, even among Amírs of the highest rank, that, apprehensive of being again abandoned in trying circumstances, as he alleged that he had already been, he resolved to administer to them a test-oath, to secure their fidelity by superstition, as Abulfazl insinuates, since true religion and a sense of duty had been insufficient to retain them in their allegiance. This oath was to be administered to each body of men in the way supposed by them to be most binding upon their consciences, and, by the terms of it, they engaged to follow and obey him, as their prince and leader, faithfully, sincerely and honestly. By this solemn act, he pro-

His compact
with his
chiefs

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posed not only to influence such as took the oath, but to inspire all his friends and followers with confidence. To carry this design into effect, he assembled the Mirzas, Amírs and chief men, who were with the army, and explained to them his purpose. Háji Muhammed Khan Koka, who, says Abulfazl, was deficient both in respect and fidelity, observed that when all had taken the oath as required, it might be proper for his Majesty to take an oath on his part, engaging "that whatever we, his well-wishers, recommend with a view to his interest and deem indispensable for that purpose, he will consent to, and perform." Mírza Hindal, firing at this suggestion, exclaimed, "Háji Muhammed! what means all this? What are you saying? Never surely did servants address a master, or slaves their lord, in language like this!" Humáyun, however, interposed, "Let it be," said the Emperor, "as Háji Muhammed and the other chiefs desire. Whatever they shall advise for my interest and with good intent, that will I execute" *.

When this mutual agreement, unparalleled perhaps in Asiatic history, had been ratified and confirmed, the army marched on. On the part of Humáyun it was an attempt to secure the fidelity of the army and its leaders, under all circumstances. The singular demand of Háji Muhammed, imperfectly explained by contemporary writers, seems to indicate a general want of confidence in the judgment and steadiness of the Emperor, which indeed, if we consider the whole previous course of his history, is not wonderful. Háji Muhammed was a foster brother in the family, and may, therefore, be supposed to have been sincerely attached to it. But his freedom on this occasion was not grateful to royal ears, and was probably never forgiven. Abulfazl, the Minister of Humáyun's son, always speaks

* Albernáma, f 82. Jouher also, c 25 mentions the incident with some slight variation.

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tection, or a check, to them all The popular, or municipal, power had no existence There were no large towns, governed by their own magistrates, and asserting particular privileges,—no corporations, that united large bodies of the lower classes in a common interest, and gave them the means of a common defence There, was, in reality, no common-weal at all,—no foundation for free institutions The people had nothing to do with law or authority, but to obey them Nothing was fixed or stable, but despotism All power was in the Sovereign, and in the irregular and, as short-lived, so, generally rapacious power of the Amírs, derived from him, founded on his grant, and personal to the individual from whom it could at any time be withdrawn There were, therefore, no materials, out of which the fabric of liberty could be built Any power taken from the Sovereign went to particular nobles, and continued equally despotic in their hands A regular body of laws, free institutions, or permanent protection against misrule, was never dreamt of The prince was the shadow and representative of God upon earth If, for any cause, he was deposed, another was substituted in his place, everything else remaining unchanged The great peculiarity, in the present instance, was, that the great Amírs did not displace the monarch, but placed restraints upon his power This led, necessarily, to a standing council, which, had not everything else been adverse, might have proved the first step, one element of a better government, for any permanent institution, whatever it may be, that acts as a check upon absolute power, must in its tendency be favourable to liberty, by setting limits to oppression

The armies of Humáy-un and Kámrán met.

Humáyun, having surmounted the northern slope of Hindu-kúsh, descended on the south into the valleys of Penjshír and Ashtekerám On arriving near Shuter-

BOOK V
A D 1550

Orders an
attack

the surprize of Kipchák, and had taken service with Kámrán, deserted and went back to him, carrying information that there was considerable perturbation and alarm in the enemy's camp. In the course of the day, Humáyun put his troops in motion. He himself took the centre, Suleimán Míza had the right wing, Hindal the left, Míza Ibráhím the advance, and Háji Muhammed with some veteran officers, the reserve. Kámrán drew out his troops to meet him, himself taking the centre, and assigning the right to Askeri Míza, the left to Ak Sultan, his son-in-law, and the advance to Kerácha Khan. "When they came near the enemy," says Jouher, "and there was but a slight space between the two armies, Háji Muhammed Khan advised that the troops should be brought to a halt, and that no fight should take place that day. As there was a compact between the Emperor and his Amírs, he saw no remedy, but ordered Beg Mirek to make the troops halt. At this moment the Mízás came up and said, that "they were not for encamping, that the battle must be fought that day, that it was not prudent to wait to be attacked, but better for them to attack Kámrán, and to conquer or die." The orders had been issued, but difficulties occurred, the troops were not prepared to encamp. Abdal Wáháb came, and represented to His Majesty, "The army is now face to face to the enemy. We have no tents to enable us to encamp." His Majesty said, "Let us advance in order. If we are opposed, it is well. If not, we shall take up a position on the banks of the river." The army, therefore, again moved forward." *

Kámrán was posted on a lofty eminence, having the rest of his army hard by. Míza Ibráhím, who commanded the Emperor's advance, by a desperate attack, seized the heights. He was followed by the Emperor,

who ordered the matchlock-men by whom he was attended, to open a fire on the lower ground Kerácha, moving forward with a body of cavalry, attacked and broke the Emperor's left, and wheeling round, proceeded to charge the right wing, when he was wounded by a matchlock bullet, and soon after dismounted and made prisoner, by a man of inferior rank. As they were leading him from the field, one Kamber Ali, whose brother Kerácha had put to death at Kandahár, coming behind him and taking off his steel-cap, cleft his skull with a blow of his sabre, and cutting off his head, presented it to the Emperor, who afterwards directed it to be placed over the Iron Gate of Kabul, to verify the Khan's words, "My head and Kabul." In Kerácha the Emperor lost a formidable enemy. After a well-contested battle, Kámrán, seeing the imperialists victorious on every side, abandoned the field, and fled, by the pass of Bádbáj, towards the Afghán country. A party under Hindal and Háji Muhammed, which was sent to pursue him, soon returned, having used but little diligence in the attempt to overtake him. Mirza Askeri was taken prisoner. The victors plundered the enemy's camp, and slew numbers of them. Many, who surrendered, were received into the Emperor's service. The victory was complete, and most opportune for his affairs. But what above all delighted him was the arrival of the young Akber, who was brought by Hasan Akhteh, to whose care he had been entrusted, after his father had had reason to fear that Kámrán had carried him off. He affectionately embraced his son, engaged himself by vow to make certain pious and charitable donations, and resolved on no future expedition to separate from him more.

Defeat and
flight of
Kamran

We are told that the Emperor soon after observed two camels loaded with trunks, wandering without drivers on the field of battle. "Let every man take what booty he can find," said the Emperor, "these two

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camels are my share " When the boxes were opened, he was alike surprised and gratified to find that they contained the very books which he had lost at the rout of Kipchák Some of the most flagrant offenders were put to death In the evening, the Emperor had a grand entertainment in the Garden-palace of Chanikárán, to celebrate his victory, after which he lost no time in proceeding to Kábul, which he entered next day without resistance *

Humáyun
re-occupies
Kábul

The first days after his arrival in that city were spent in rewarding his friends, and punishing his enemies, some of them capitally Mírza Suleimán, who with his son, had rendered distinguished service, was sent back to Badakhshán, loaded with rewards Mírza Ibráhím remained some time longer, and, before his departure, was betrothed to Bakhshí Bánú Begum, the Emperor's daughter Akber got the district of Chirkh in Lohger, as a jágír and Háji Muhammed Khan was appointed his Minister, with the care of his education Humáyun spent about a year in Kábul, at this time

A D 958,
A D 1551

* Akhernáma, ff 82, 83 Tab ff 53, 54 , Ferishta, vol II pp 166, Akb ff 164, 165 , Tar Nizami, 167 , Khol ul-Tow f 269 f 202 , Jouher, c 26 , Bayezíd,

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A D 1551.

any submission to Kábul, it was only nominal. They lay chiefly in the tract to the east of Kábul and Ghazni. The wild Afgháns, through whose country Kámrán passed, met him as he fled, and plundered him and his followers of the little they had left. He found himself compelled to cut off his hair and beard, and wandering in the disguise of a Kalender, or religious mendicant, found his way through the hills to Melek Muhammed of Mandráwer, the most distinguished chief of the Lamghánát, to whom he discovered himself, who, out of consideration for the Mírza's former rank and greatness, took a warm interest in his affairs. The reverses of fortune which he had endured, did not deter the Mírza from still indulging in schemes of ambition. He was soon joined by a party of soldiers of fortune, who had escaped from the late defeat, and collected a number of adventurers from the neighbouring country, and from the wandering tribes, so that his force amounted to fifteen hundred men. He was supposed to have extended his intrigues into the court of Humáyun, a suspicion which gave that prince, still but insecurely settled on his throne, no small degree of uneasiness. It so happened that, at this very moment, Hájí Muhammed Khan suddenly left the court of Humáyun without leave, and withdrew to his government of Ghazni, a step which the Emperor suspected to be connected with designs in favour of Kámrán, though he affected to talk of this insult as merely a piece of humour. He, however, despatched a considerable force to defeat the new efforts of Kámrán, who, unable to resist, fled from Mandráwer to the upper part of the valleys of Alankár and Alisheng. Being pursued thither also, he next fled eastward into the county of the Khalíl, Mehmend and Daúd-zái Afgháns, among whom he arrived in a most destitute situation. The few followers, who had attended him thus far, there dispersed, and scattered

over the country His pursuers, having followed him as far as Ghaz and Shahídán, returned home

CHAP III
SECT IV

Humáyun had now a short period of repose, during which, still farther to confirm Suleimán Mírza in his interest, he asked Shahzáda Khánúm the Mírza's daughter in marriage, and she was betrothed to him Mírza Askari, still his prisoner, he sent to be guarded in Badakhshán, whence he had permission, which was equivalent to a command, to proceed to Mekka That prince survived nearly seven years, and died at last between Damascus and the holy city *

Repose of
Humáyun

A H 965,
A A 1558

No reverses could damp the ardour with which Kámrán strove to regain his throne He again began to collect a new body of adventurers around him They consisted chiefly of the Khalil and Mehmend Afgháns, joined by numbers of soldiers of fortune of every description, who flocked to his standard in hopes of plunder or of place, should he regain the crown With these he soon infested the whole eastern borders of Kábul, and, occasionally, pushed his plundering excursions into the heart of the more level country, retiring with his marauders, when pursued, into the narrow glens and mountain recesses which encompass the greater part of Kábul Humayun saw the necessity of putting a speedy and final stop to these incursions, and was sensible that the only effectual mode of doing so was to follow his enemy into the country that afforded him refuge, wherever that might be He sent, therefore, to invite Háji Muhammed to join him in this expedition with the troops of Ghazni But, hearing in the meanwhile that Kámrán had laid siege to a fort near the Cháibagh, not far from Júr-Sháhi (now Jelálábád), he set out in that direction with the few troops he had with him, without waiting for the reinforcement from Ghazni Kámrán, hearing of his rapid approach,

New at-
tempts of
Kámrán

* Akbernáma, ff 83 84, Khel. ul Towarikh f 270

BOOK V
A D 1551

raised the siege, and retreated downwards to Pesháwer, whence, making a circuit by Bangash and Gardíz, he proceeded towards Kábul, giving out that it was for the purpose of forming a junction with Háji Muhammed Abulfazl affirms that that Amír was now entirely in Kámrán's interest, and had invited him to unite their forces for an attack upon the capital. However that may be, at that very time Biram Khan arrived at Ghazni, on his way from Kandahár to Kábul. He was an old friend of the governor's, who received him with much honour, and invited him to a grand entertainment within the fort, intending, says Abulfazl, to have seized him. Biram Khan, who got some intimation of evil designs, feigning an excuse, waived the invitation, and encamped by a stream near the town, where he was visited by Háji Muhammed, whom by his superior art and address, he prevailed upon to accompany him to Kábul. Humáyun, meanwhile, no sooner heard of Kámrán's movements, than he hurried back to defend his capital. The Mírza, after he had arrived within one march of Kábul, hearing that Biram Khan and Háji Muhammed were not far off on their march to join the Emperor, seeing all chance of success gone, turned back, to wander some time longer in the straths and hills of Lamghán *

* Akbernáma, f 84, Nizám-ed-dín Ahmed) Tab Akb f 165 and Tar Niz f 203) makes Humáyun write to Kandahár to request Biram Khan to visit Háji Muhammed and seize him. He also affirms that Háji wrote to Kamrán inviting him to come to Ghazni, when he was ready to acknowledge him as king. From whatever cause, it is clear that the ruin of Háji Muhammed was resolved upon. Perhaps his conduct in the matter of the test-oath was not forgotten. Abulfazl is so much a partizan of the Emperor and of Biram Khan, that we can hardly

expect from him an impartial account of transactions in which that great man was concerned. Háji Muhammed probably stood a little in Biram's way. He had been Prime Minister, and seems to have been laid aside, first for Kerácha, and now for Biram Khan. Whether the disaffection laid to his charge was real, or only a pretext for superseding him, it is hard to determine. If real, it seems strange that he should twice have been induced to go to Kábul. He evidently at this time did not consider his life to be safe.

After Bīram Khan and Hájī Muhammed had reached Kábul, the latter, when one day entering the city, was stopped at the gate and turned back, with rather a pointed message from the governor. This, added to the manifest jealousy which the Emperor had shown, naturally roused his suspicion that something was in agitation against him. He, therefore, resolved to escape before the Emperor arrived, and, to prevent being detained, instead of proceeding straight to Ghazni, he set out for Kárábágh on the north, under pretence of a hunting party, passed the defile of Minár, and made his way through the hills to Bába Kochkár, whence he hastened, by the Damankoh of Behzadí and Alinder, towards Ghazni.

When Humáyun soon after reached Siáh-sang near Kábul, on his way back to oppose Kámrán, he was met by Bīram Khan. Finding that Kámián had retreated, and resolved to follow him wherever he was to be found, that an end might be put to those eternal alarms of which he was the cause,—he issued orders that not a man should leave the camp, or enter Kábul. As he was not at his ease in regard to Hájī Muhammed, he despatched Bīram Khan to prevail upon him once more to return to the camp, if possible amicably, but at all events to bring him. The Khan, by his prudent and conciliating management, and by engaging for certain conditions which he confirmed by oath, succeeded in mollifying and reassuring the Hájī, and finally conducted him to the presence when all the forms of a reconciliation took place.

Measures to
seize Kám-
rán

A few days after this event, the Emperor marched back to the Lamghánát in pursuit of Kámrán. By the time he reached Júi-Sháhi, the Mírza fled through the passes of Kuner Nurgil higher up the Kama River, while his followers dispersed. Bīram Khan, now honoured with the title of Khan-Khánán, was sent with a body of troops to pursue him, which he did with so much vigour

BOOK V

A D 1551

Who flies
towards the
Indus.

that the Mírza, not finding himself safe in the territory of Kuner Nurgil, went off towards the Indus. Bírám Khan rejoined the Emperor at Daka, between Júi-Sháhi and the Khaiber Pass.

It was at this time that the Emperor caused Háji Muhammed Khan and his brother Shah Muhammed to be seized. They were charged with turbulent and rebellious designs, and after the forms of a regular investigation, were found guilty, stripped of all their honours and possessions, and when they had been kept a short time in prison, were put to death. Indeed, in the condition in which the countries under Humáyun then were, it was not safe for the prince, after quarrelling with any subject, to leave him powerful. It would have been only affording him the means of aiding a rival with greater effect. Humáyun, influenced probably by the stern, but successful, policy of Bírám Khan, seems, at length, to have resolved to quell rebellion, and to punish disaffection with unsparing severity, in every one, from the prince to the peasant. Ghazni and the other jágírs of the two brothers, were divided among the Emperor's adherents.*

Change in
the policy of
HumáyunTranquilli-
zation of
Afghánis-
tán

The winter Humáyun spent in hunting and festivity, and in settling the neighbouring country. Early in the spring he had the satisfaction of receiving deputations from different tribes of Afgháns, with acknowledgements of submission and tributary offerings. The flight of Kámrán allowed things to assume a better form than they had done for a long period. Bírám Khan returned to Kandahár. The countries of Ghazni, Guidíz, Bangash and Lohger were entrusted to Hindal, Kunduz, which the Mírza had held, was given to Mír Birkeh, Júi-Sháhi to Khízer Khwája Khan. When these arrangements were made, Hindal, leaving Kunduz, repaired to Ghazni. But before Mír Birkeh arrived at

* Akbernáma, f 84, Tab Akb f 165, Tar Niz f 202, 203, Jouher, c 26

Kunduz to supply his place, Mírza Ibráhím contrived to get possession of it, and it was allowed, if not by secret treaty, at least by connivance, to remain in his hands

CHAP. III
SECRET

It was about this time that Shah Abul-Maali entered Humáyun's service. He was a Pirzáda or son of a Pír or saintly personage, and claimed to be descended of the Syeds of Turmez who were connected with the imperial family. He was a man of decision and talent, by which, and by the unbounded influence he gained over the Emperor's mind, in spite of his presumptuous and overbearing temper, he rose to high rank and estimation.

But Kámrán, meanwhile, had not been idle. In the course of his wanderings, he had contrived to collect about him a new and considerable body of adventurers, with whom he advanced, and once more entered Jui-Sháhi the middle point between the upper and lower country. The Emperor immediately summoned Hindal and the Jágirdars nearest to the capital, to join his array. They obeyed, and he marched against Kámrán, who, without meeting him, retreated into his usual mountain recesses. When the camp reached Sukháb, however, Kámrán, descending from the hills, made a fierce attack by night on the advance, which lay at the Shah-áb between that town and Gudemak. The troops, though surprised, defended themselves bravely, and maintained their ground, but lost many men, and a great part of their baggage.

Humáyun
marches
against
Kámrán

Humáyun proceeded on his march, through a broken mountainous country, so close on the hills, and so beset with steep lowering cliffs, ravines, valleys and hill passes, that he was in constant danger of being surprised, or of having the different divisions of his army separated from each other, and cut off by the sudden attacks of an unseen foe. Passing Jui-Sháhi, he advanced as far as Jibár, a township in the territory of

BOOK V

A. D. 1551

Night at-
tack on the
Imperial
campZehuda 21
eve of
Nov. 20Death of
Hindal

Nanginhár, beyond Behsúd, guarding his camp and march with watchful care. On his arrival, he ordered the camp to be surrounded with trenches to prevent surprise, and erected a temporary fort on a rising ground. Two Afgháns brought a report that the Mirza intended, that same night, to attack the camp with a body of Khalíl and Mehmend Afgháns. It was the eve of the 20th of November. The guards were ordered to watch in the trenches, and to be on the alert. About the end of the first watch of the night, an attack was made accordingly. The Emperor was on the rising ground, Hindal in the camp below. The onset was furious, and the contest continued hot for some time, each officer defending his own portion of the works, some part of which, however, the enemy succeeded in scaling, and entered the enclosure. Some men of note were slain, all was confusion and uncertainty, friend and foe being mixed together and covered by the darkness of the night, when the rising of the moon showed the real state of things, and the imperialists recovered their superiority. The assailants took to flight, but Mirza Hindal had fallen in the fray. "When the affair was over," says Jouher, "and his Majesty inquired for his brother Hindal, no one had the courage to tell him. He then called out aloud from the height, but, although surrounded by at least three hundred persons, none answered. He ordered Abdal Wáháb to go and bring news of the prince. He went, but, in returning, was shot by one of our own matchlock-men, who mistook him for an Afghán, and thus was he added to the number of martyrs. Mir Abdal-Hai was next sent, and brought back the melancholy intelligence, which he communicated by repeating two verses of a poet. The Emperor instantly retreated to his pavilion, where he was overwhelmed with grief, till his Amírs came and consoled him, saying that his brother was blest, in

BOOK V

A D 1551

in black armour lying on the ground. He did not at first stop, but pushed on towards the Afgháns, till he recollected that Hindal had that evening put on a black cuirass. Turning back, he examined the body, and found that it was the Mírza's. His right hand had been cut off, and some fingers of his left, apparently in an attempt to defend his head, and a cross blow, that had fallen on his mouth, had nearly separated the head from the one ear to the other. With great presence of mind, he lifted up the body, and carried it into the Mírza's pavilion, where he laid it down and covered it with a cloak, ordering the porters to admit no one, as the Mírza was fatigued with his exertions, and had received a trifling wound, and desired that no noise or bustle should be allowed, that could disturb him. When the enemy was finally repulsed, the Khwája mounted a rising ground, and in the Mírza's name returned thanks to the troops for their exertions which had secured the victory. His conduct was warmly applauded by the Emperor. Hindal's remains were conveyed first to Júi-Sháhi, and, after a time, to Kábul, where they were interred at the feet of his father Báber. He was thirty-two years of age at the time of his death. Ghazni, the jágir of Hindal, was given to Akber, to whom were also transferred the Mírza's adherents, and the daughter of the deceased prince was betrothed to him.*

* Akbernáma, f 85, Jouher, c 26, Bayezid, ff 59, 60, Tab Akb f 165, Khol-ul-Tow f 270, Jouher mentions an incident connected with the death of Hindal, which is highly illustrative of that tenderness to animal life, that is common with pious Musulmans. Two days before the night attack, when the Emperor and his brother were returning from choosing a strong position for a fortified camp, they met three deer, "one, Hindal pursued, another Shah Abu-Maali, the third escaped. When Hindal

was over against the deer, he shot it with an arrow in such a way that it never moved, but raising its face thrice towards heaven, yielded up its life to God. All who were present were filled with wonder, (it seeming) as if the deer had lifted up its complaint to the Almighty Creator." Jouher, c 26. Two days after, the Mírza was slain by the Afgháns, "having no other arms to oppose to the enemy but his bow and arrow." He was born in A D 925, and slain 958, being about 33 lunar years of age.

BOOK V

A D 1552,

was directed to the encampment of the tribe with which the Mírza was to be found, and, hastening on, reached it as the sun rose. They rushed in ere the Afgháns, who amounted to 14,000 fighting men, could recover from their surprise, and put to death all the men whom they met, making prisoners of the women and children, whom they afterwards sold as slaves*. Kámrán made a narrow escape, the assailants entering his tent at one side, while he escaped by the other, but Maksúd, his favourite, who slept in it was taken prisoner. The surprise was complete, the resistance feeble, the booty, especially in sheep and cattle, very large. This disaster was decisive of the Mírza's fate among the Afgháns, who were seized with general dismay, and did not afterwards dare to protect him. He, therefore, fled, but meeting with no succour from the Afghán tribes, crossed the Indus, and, compelled by the extremity to which he was reduced, sought refuge with Selím Shah, the Afghán King of Delhi. Humáyun, no longer apprehensive of any attack from the Afgháns, left his fortified camp of Behsúd, and returned in triumph to Kábul†.

The flies to
Selim Shah

Towards the end of the year, the Emperor moved down into Bangash to chastise the Afgháns in that quarter, who had sheltered and assisted Kámrán. As Bangash lies on a far lower level than Kábul, and the winter is consequently much less severe, he was able to carry on hostile operations in that country, while the grounds above were covered with snow. While he himself moved down from the capital, he ordered a second division from Ghazni, under Akber, to co operate with him by marching on Bangash by the route of Gurdíz. The invaders spread, plundering and laying waste the country on every side, seizing the effects, and driving off the sheep and cattle of the different tribes,

* Jouher makes the prisoners, male and female, amount to 12,000. † Akbernáma, ff 84—87, Jouher, c 27

End of
A D 959,
and of
A D 1552
Humáyun
lays waste
Bangash

into whose territory they came, and especially of the Abdal-Rahmān and Bermizīdī Afghāns. Monām Khān, with a third division of the Emperor's troops, advancing from his jagh of Naugmihān by way of Tina, attacked the habitations of Fatch Shāh, an Afghan chief, who was accused of belonging to the hated sect of Chmāgh-kush, and destroyed or plundered his whole property, he himself narrowly escaping, but severely wounded.*

To complete the satisfaction which Humayūn enjoyed from these successful operations, which wasted the territory of his enemy in every direction, he was met by ambassadors from Sultan Adam Giker, the head of the Giker race, who brought the important intelligence that Kāmran had wandered into his territories, and that, if the Emperor would visit him, he was ready to acknowledge his Majesty, and to deliver his brother into his hands. Along with the ambassadors came Jogi Khān, a servant of Kāmran's, bearing a letter from that prince, in which he made every protestation of attachment, with expressions of regret for the past, and promises of submission for the future. This was an opportunity not to be neglected. Humayūn was convinced, from long and painful experience, that he never could be personally safe, or secure of executing any of his plans, while Kāmran was at large. Without delay, therefore, he bent his march towards the Indus, which he crossed near Dinkôt, on his way to the country of the Gikers.

We have seen that Kāmran, after his camp had been surprised in the night-attack, and his allies routed and dispersed, finding that no more assistance could be gained from the Afghāns, who were confounded by the

CHAP. III
SECT. IV

The Gikers
offer to sur-
render
Kāmran

Kāmran
visits the
camp of
Selim Shah

* Foucher tells us (c. 27) that Humayūn, while in Bangash, heard one Pekk Mazhabī had made a place for himself in the Bangash territory, and was misleading men on which

he sent a party to punish him, who made his wives and children prisoners. He may probably be the person mentioned in the text, Mazhabī merely signifying "ecclesiary."

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A D 1553

His humili-
ating re-
ception

blow inflicted on some of their tribes, hastened towards the Penjáb, resolved, as a last resource, to court succour from Selím Shah, the Afghán sovereign of Delhi, and the hereditary enemy of his family and race. That prince was then at Bín, a township of the Penjáb, and engaged in operations against the chief of Jámu when Kámrán's envoy arrived. Instantly perceiving the advantage to be derived from this incident, he joyfully invited him to his court, and, as he approached, sent an honorary procession to receive him. Kámrán saw with disappointment, however, that it was composed of persons of inferior rank, and, that on entering the camp, he was not met by the King. The unhappy prince soon discovered that he was no longer a sovereign, and endured all the painful feelings of degraded majesty, heightened by a sense of his own imprudence, in having thrown himself into the hands of a bitter enemy. When introduced to the presence, he found Selím seated in state, with much pomp, on his throne. Having, either intentionally or by accident, made some delay in approaching the king, he was thrice loudly reminded by the master of ceremonies*, before the whole Court, that he was in the presence of the Lord of the World. As he approached the throne without making his obeisance, the officer who introduced him, seized him rudely by the neck, and made him bend to perform the kornish, proclaiming at the same time that the son of the Makadam, or head-man, of Kábul, had come to make a petition to his Majesty. To add to his vexation, Selím for some time affected not to notice him, and when he did, looking haughtily his way, only half rose from his seat, gave him a passing welcome, directed that his tent should be placed among those of the Mír-zádas, and gave orders to present him with a caparisoned horse, a dress of honour, a female slave and an eunuch. The

* Mír Tuzuk.

late powerful sovereign of Kábul, Kandahán, Badakhshán and the Punjab, felt indignant and humbled, at receiving such treatment from an upstart Afghán. He was permitted to go at large, but was watched as a prisoner. Selim, who had some tincture of learning, and piqued himself on his skill in composing extempore verses, often sent for the Míza, who was an elegant poet and an accomplished scholar, and contended with him chiefly in metrical composition, an intercourse which invariably terminated in disgust. Kamrán was not long of discovering that the promises made to him were never meant to be kept, and that he had humbled himself to become the mere dependant of an Afghán, whom he hated, and who was his mortal foe. Worn out with petty annoyances also, he became tired of life, and resolved to attempt, at whatsoever risk, to effect his escape.

When Selim had concluded his business in the Punjab, he set out to return to Hindustán, carrying along with him the Míza, whom he continued to flatter with hopes of assistance, which he never meant to render. His intention was to have sent him as a prisoner to some hill fort, to be reserved as a check upon Humáyún. As the camp approached the Satlej, Kamrán saw that no time was to be lost, and privately despatched Jogí Khan, a trusty servant, to Raja Kamblu, a hill chieftain, whose country was only twelve kos from Máchwáná, the grand pass over the river, to ascertain if that chief would afford him protection. The Raja promised to receive him, and as soon as the camp had crossed the river at Máchwáná, the Míza effected his escape. Having dressed one of his servants in his own sleeping robe, and, in order the more effectually to lull the vigilance of the guards and spies by whom he was surrounded, made Bába Súd a nobleman of his household sit up reading aloud by his bedside, as if he had lain down to go to rest, he proceeded to disguise him-

BOOK V

A D 1553

self in female attire, and throwing over him the robe or veil used by Musulman women, which covers the whole body and conceals the shape, having only a small aperture left for the eyes, he walked out of the female tents unsuspected, and having at a convenient place mounted a fleet horse, found his way to the concerted place of refuge among the hills *

His subsequent wanderings,

The Raja received him as he had promised, and entertained him hospitably for some time, till, learning that a force was on its march to demand that the Mírza should be given up, unable to resist the power of Delhi, he sent off the prince to another hill-chief, the Raja of Kalúr †, who possessed the strongest place in that quarter, but who soon after, from a similar apprehension of incurring the resentment of Selím, sent him on to Jámu. The Raja of that territory, however, afraid of once more drawing on himself the hostility of the Afghán, from which he had before suffered, would not grant permission to the Mírza to enter his dominions. Kámran, finding himself thus situated, set out for Mánkót ‡, where he very narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. He was compelled once more, therefore, to disguise himself as a female, and set out on horseback with an Afghán horse-dealer, who was returning to Kábul. In passing through the Gaker country, he discovered himself to the Sultan, and claimed his assistance to regain his throne. That chief, who had been an ally of Báber's, detained the Mírza as a prisoner at large, at the same time giving information to Humáyun, as has been mentioned, that the Mírza was in his power. Kámran, finding himself in this desperate situation,

* The Kholáset-ul-Fowárikh says, at Rajeghát 20 kos from Sirhind, f 283

† The present capital of Kalur is Belláspur on the Satlej. Forster's Travels, vol. i. p 240 8vo ed. The Kholáset calls it Kehlut, and makes

him go thence to Nagerkót and thence to Jamu. Ferishta, vol ii p 169 says that he took refuge with the Raja of Nagerkót

‡ Mánkót lies in the hills between the Ravi and Chenáb

and detention by the Gakers

BOOK V

A D 1553

Discussions
as to his
fate

standard, and kettle-drum and some rich presents, the reward of his important, but dishonourable, service, took his leave. Consultations were now held as to the disposal of the Mírza. The Emperor's councillors were unanimously of opinion, that there could be no hope of tranquillity for his dominions while the Mírza was in life, and that his death was due no less to the Emperor himself, than to the quiet and peace of his subjects. Humáyun, both from his own natural disposition and the impressive parting advice of his father, was very averse to proceed to extremities. Upon this his Amírs, the Muftís, Doctors of the Law and other men of note who accompanied the army, presented a petition, advice and remonstrance under their seals, praying that capital punishment might be inflicted on Kámrán, as an act required by justice, and indispensable to the public peace. This paper Humáyun sent to Kámrán, who was much agitated on reading it. He sent a message in return to say, that those whose seals were affixed to this paper asking for his death, were the very persons, who had urged him on to the extremities, that had brought him to his present misery.

Is deprived
of his eye-
sight.

Though strongly urged on every side, Humáyun obstinately persisted in refusing to imbrue his hands in his brother's blood, but he resolved, by depriving him of his eyesight, to render him unfit for public life. For this purpose, he ordered the Mírza's servants to be removed from about his person, and supplied their place by some of his own. He instructed his ewer bearer, Jouher, from whom we have the detailed particulars of this event, to watch the interior of the tent, and on no

perial family. For when Baber invaded Hindustán, Tátár entered his service and served him faithfully. He fell in the war with Rána Sánga, leaving two sons, Sultan Sarang and Sultan Adam. On the death of Sarang, the chieftainship of the

tribe came to Sultan Adam, who at this time continued to hold it, though the two sons of Sarang, Kemál Khan and Saíd Khan Gaker, laid claim to the dignity, and were their uncle's enemies.

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A.D. 1553

tions How can I do such a deed as this without his Majesty's personal orders? Should he to-morrow ask me, 'What made you do this deed, and disable my brother?' Am I to answer, 'I did it because Sultan Ah Dost bid me?' No, I cannot do it." Thus they disputed together. At length, the humble Jouher said, "I will go and inform his Majesty." Ah Dost, Sultan Bariki, Gholám Ah Sheshangusht*, the Darogha of the Ferásh-khána, and I, the humble Jouher, galloped after his Majesty, and addressed him. Ah Dost, among the rest, spoke to him in the Túki language, saying, "Nobody will do this deed." The Emperor, in the same language, called him names, and said, "Thou, what has come over thee? Do thou go and do it." What followed, as perhaps the most faithful account of such a scene that is on record, may best be described in the words of an eye-witness and agent †

"Having received this order, we returned to Kámrán, and Gholám Ah said to the Mírza, 'O Mírza! would that Almighty God tore my tongue from the roots, rather than that the words I speak should come from my mouth. But for the commands of princes there is no remedy. Our orders are to lance your eyes.' 'Kill me at once,' said the Mírza. Gholám Ah replied, 'None dare so far overpass his orders as to kill you.' He then proceeded to execute the work. Having folded a handkerchief which he had in his hand into a ball, to serve for a gag, the Ferásh ‡ thrust it into the Mírza's mouth as he struggled. They then held his hands, dragged him out of the pavilion, laid him on the ground, and struck the lancet into his eyes, such was the will of God! fifty times more or less. Like a brave man he did not utter a single groan. But when a man sat down on his knees, he said to him, 'Why do you sit on my knees?

* The sixfingered

† Jouher, c. 27.

‡ An inferior servant who takes

up and lays down the carpets, assists in pitching the tents, &c.

BOOK V in the fulness of his heart, seizing his hands, pressed
 A D 1553 them to his eyes with many tears, and exclaimed,

“ Though a veil is drawn over the eye of my body ,
 I see thee still with that inward eye, that so oft has pictured thy
 countenance ”

He continued to accompany the camp, until it arrived on the banks of the Indus, on its return to Kábul Here he sent for Monaim Beg “ You know,” said the Mírza, “ in what splendor I have lived in Kábul How then can I endure to be carried to it, such a spectacle as I now am ” He asked leave to go to Mekka, without passing through his old dominions, adding that, if refused, he would kill himself by the way, when his blood would rest on his brother’s head The Emperor, for a whole day, refused to grant this request How could he set him at large, he said, after having reduced him to blindness At length, however, Monaim and some others of his Amírs prevailed on the Emperor to let him set out, and also to have a meeting with him , to which he agreed on one condition, — that the Mírza should place a check upon his feelings, and not allow himself to break out into complaint or lamentation At midnight, the Emperor, lighted by a lantern, and attended by five or six men of distinction, repaired to his tent Monaim sent in a person to apprise the Mírza that his Majesty was come Yúsef, the Mírza’s Koichú (armour-bearer), taking his blind master by the arm, led him out as far as the tent-ropes When Humáyún’s eyes fell on the handkerchief that the Mírza had tied over his eyes, he burst into an involuntary flood of tears, while Kámrán, observant of his promise, maintained a silent composure The Emperor entered the tent, and having thrown off his shoes, sat down close by the entrance, and made a sign to Yúsef, who led in the Mírza, and, in consequence, took him to the higher place, opposite to the Emperor When those who attended his

His Inter-
 view with
 Humáyún

Majesty had followed and entered the tent, he made them a sign to sit down where they stood. The Emperor continuing to sob aloud, the Mírza repeated a couplet from a popular poem,

CHAP. III
SECT. IV

“ The cowl of the solitary hermit is exalted to the skies,
When the shadow of a monarch like thee falls upon it ”

adding soon after this other,

“ Whatever falls on my soul from thee is subject of thanksgiving,
Be it the shaft of ruin, or the dagger of tyranny ”

Humáyun, taking no notice of the reproach which the latter part of the quotation implied, loaded him with kind expressions, calling God to witness how little things had turned out according to his wishes, and how deeply and tenderly he sympathized with his brother's sufferings. The Mírza inquired of Yúsef, “ Who were in the tent ? ” He was told, Mír Terdí Beg, Monaim Beg, Bápus Beg and some others, on which he addressed them and said, “ Be all of you witnesses, that whatever has happened to me, has proceeded from my own misconduct and fault. If it be known that his Majesty has shown favour to me, let it also be known how little I have deserved it ” Humáyun, much affected, and wishing to put an end to the scene, his voice interrupted by convulsive sorrow, faltered out, “ Let us now repeat the Fateheh ” (a prayer). The Mírza upon this earnestly recommended his children and dependants to the Emperor's care, who said, “ Set yourself at ease on that subject they are my own children ” The prayer being over, Humáyun rose to depart, on which Yúsef, taking the Mírza's hand, led him out to the same spot where he had gone to receive the Emperor, when he came and there took leave of him. As soon as the Emperor was gone and at a little distance, Kámrán, no longer under restraint, groaning aloud, gave vent to his smothered emotions, and burst out into heart-rending

BOOK V

A D 1553

He is deserted by his attendants

lamentations, so that the sound of his cries and of his wailing was heard in the tents all around

Next day it was publicly intimated, that all such of the Mírza's former servants as were inclined might accompany him, but none were found disposed to share his present miserable condition. "Those who lately had boasted of his friendship," says Abulfazl, "now denied his acquaintance" In this situation, Humáyun asked Chilmeh Koka, one of his household, who happened to be standing by, "Whether he would remain in his service or go to Mekka with the Mírza" The generous man replied, that highly as he was honoured by being in his Majesty's service, a sense of duty called upon him to attend the Mírza, that, to the best of his power, he might cheer his dreary nights, and his dark and solitary days "Blessings be upon you," said Humáyun To his faithful management the care of the funds destined for the Mírza's support in his pilgrimage was entrusted, and this worthy man rose to high rank in the succeeding reign Beg Múlúk, the favourite of his prosperity, deserted the Mírza after accompanying him a few stages, and returned to the camp The Emperor was much incensed on hearing of his conduct, and this heartless desertion, says Bayezíd, made him abhorred of small and great *

He proceeds to Sind and Mekka.

Kámrán travelled down the Indus to Tatta, where Shah Husein, his father-in-law, allotted him a palace for his residence, and an estate for his support He persisted, however, in proceeding on his pilgrimage. His Arghún wife, Chuchak Begum, in spite of every remonstrance, resolved to accompany him, and having embarked without her father's knowledge, was discovered before the ship set sail, but refused to return with the persons whom he sent to bring her on shore He

* Akbernáma, ff 88—90, Jouher, c. 27, Bayezíd, 63—65, Tab Akberi, ff 165, 166, Tar Niz ff 203, 204, Ferishta, vol. II pp 169, 170

himself in consequence went on board to fetch her. But the lady nobly remonstrated with him. "You gave me to my husband," she said, "when he was a king and happy, and would take me from him now that he is fallen, and blind, and miserable. No, I will attend and watch him faithfully, wherever he goes." Shah Husein, compelled to admire her generous spirit and to yield to her determination, sent on board of the vessel whatever could contribute to the comfort of the voyage *. She attended her husband with unwearied affection till his death, which happened about four years after (on the 5th of October, A D 1557). She survived him only seven months.

CHAP. III.
SECT. IV.

Devotion of
his wife

Their
deaths
A D 964
Zilhajeh 11

But to return to Humáyun's proceedings in the Gaker country. After the Mírza was thus given up and deprived of sight, the Emperor marched against Píraneh, a chief of the Janúha tribe, who possessed a strong fort in the Bhíra country. He gave himself up after a stout resistance, but Sultan Adam having asked that he and his country should be delivered into his hands, his request was complied with. The Emperor now ravaged the neighbouring districts, destroying many villages, while the army gained much booty †.

Humáyun
plunders
the country

Thus far successful, Humáyun resolved to improve his advantage and to march on to Kashmír, to the conquest of which he had been so long and so urgently invited by Sultan Haider Doghlat. But his Amírs and then followers, who had left their families behind in Kábul, were extremely averse to the expedition. He persisted obstinately, however, and orders were given for advancing by way of Bimber. In the morning, when the march was to begin, a great part of the troops, instead of taking the route pointed out, turned away

Defection
among his
troops

* Tarikh-e-Sind, 168

† There is some diversity in the accounts of different authors as to the series of events in this campaign

I follow what, from a comparison of authorities, seems the most probable

BOOK V

D 1553

He re-
crosses the
IndusRebuilds
and provi-
sions
Pesháwer

towards Kábul Abul Maali, the Emperor's favourite, and a violent man, rode up and shot with his arrow one of the refractory leaders The Emperor wished to pursue and chastise them, but the chief Amírs represented to him, that the defection was too general to be stopped, and they renewed their representations, in which they were joined by Sultan Adam, that the present was not a favourable time for such an expedition, that the Afgháns of Delhi, who had not long before crossed the Jelem from Rhotas and returned into the Penjáb, were now assembling in great force, and should he march to Kashmír, would occupy the hill pass by which he had gone, and shut up the only route by which he could return, that he had not force enough to meet them in the field, so that Kashmír would become his prison Besides this, intelligence had arrived that Shah Selím himself was on his way back from Delhi with an overpowering force. Humáyun, though deeply wounded by the conduct of his troops, was compelled to yield, and soon after marched for the Indus To prevent his being followed into the Gaker and Bhíra country, a report was circulated, and believed in the Afghán camp, that he was on his march to besiege Rhotas This prevented their moving, so that he was enabled to pursue his course, and cross the river without being followed by the Afgháns

On reaching Bekráam, now Pesháwer, he found that the fort had been destroyed by the neighbouring Afgháns, and sensible of its great importance for his meditated invasion of Hindustán, as well as for keeping the Afgháns in order, he resolved to rebuild it on a more extensive plan The delay which this occasioned was far from being agreeable to the Amírs, who were all eager to return to Kábul Having, however, issued his orders, he made the different portions of the works be distributed to the different Amírs, and leaving Terdi Beg and Monaim Beg to see it finished under the imme-

diate superintendence of the master of the works, the fortifications were completed in a very short time, and a strong garrison placed in it under the command of Sekander Khan Uzbek. The harvests of the Dilázák Afgháns being still on the ground, the grain was cut down, and served to provision the fort. It was soon after attacked by the neighbouring Afgháns, but Sekander made a successful defence, and repelled them.

CHAP III
SECT IV

Humáyun returned to Kábul in the end of the year. One of his first employments was to justify himself in regard to his treatment of Kámrán. We are told that he deplored to the ladies of the harem the cruel necessity in which he had been placed, and that he wrote at great length to Abdal Reshíd of Káshghar, a friend and relation of the family, explaining in detail the facts of his intercourse with his brother. Indeed it must be allowed that, in this whole unhappy affair, Humáyun seems to have offered violence to his own feelings, and to have departed from his usual character.*

Beginning of
A D 960

End of
A D 1554

Returns to
Kábul

But, however that may be, Humáyun now found himself in a situation very different from what he had been at any previous portion of his reign. He had earned much dear-bought experience. His brothers, who had so often interfered with his views and thwarted his designs, were all removed, Kamrán was deprived of sight, and in banishment, Hindal had fallen in fight, and Askeri was in a far distant land, whence he was not likely to return, and where he could not be dangerous. The other Mízas, his relations, had either been removed by the arm of justice, or by various accidents, or lived, dependant on his will. The more factious and powerful of the great Amírs, such as Kerácha Khan and Háji Muhammed Khan, had fallen by the sword of his authority. There was now no rival to the throne, no noble behind and above the throne. The most

Favourable
state of his
affairs.

* Akbernáma, f 90 and other authorities as above

BOOK V

A D 1554

powerful of them, Bīram Khan the Amīr-al-omra, being a Persian Tūr̄k without local connection, and a Shīa, was, in spite of his great talents, less formidable to the sovereign than much inferior men. since, as it was through the sovereign that he must govern, it was his interest to increase the power of the crown, his only support

He resolves
to recon-
quer India

Encouraged by this state of affairs, and by the peace that prevailed in every part of his dominions, Humáyūn now determined to attempt the conquest of Hindustán, which had so long been the object of his ambition. And the circumstances in which that country was placed at this crisis were in every respect most favourable to his design. But it is necessary to return to that country, from which we have been so long absent, and to take a view of the events that followed the expulsion of Humáyūn from Delhi and the Penjáb, about thirteen years before this period, when the superior energy and conduct of Shīr Shah established for a time the ascendancy of the Afghán over the Chaghatái dynasty.

BOOK SIXTH.

THE SUR DYNASTY IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

SULTAN SHÍR SHAH SÚR.

SHIR SHAH OCCUPIES THE PENJÁB ON THE FLIGHT OF HUMÁYUN AND KÁMRÁN — THE GAKERS REFUSE TO SUBMIT TO HIM — THEY DEFEAT HIS DETACHMENTS — HE ERECTS THE STRONG FORTRESS OF RHOTAS — AND RETURNS TO DELHI AND AGRA. — QUELLS A REVOLT IN BENGAL — RESOLVES TO REDUCE MALWA. — GUÁLÍAR SURRENDERS — RECENT STATE OF MALWA — KÁDER SHAH ASSUMES THE SOVEREIGNTY — QUARRELS WITH SHIR SHAH — WHO MARCHES AGAINST HIM — APPARENT RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THEM — ARTIFICE OF SHÍR SHAH — FLIGHT OF KÁDER SHAH TO GUJRÁT — ATTEMPT TO SEIZE THE NOBLES IN MALWA. — KÁDER SHAH RETURNS, AND IS DEFEATED — RÁNTAMBÓR SURRENDERED TO SHÍR SHAH, WHO RETURNS TO AGRA — MULTÁN OCCUPIED IN HIS NAME — HIS ADMINISTRATION — HE RETURNS TO MALWA — CAPITULATION OF RÁISEN — TREACHERY OF SHÍR SHAH AND MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON — HIS SCHEMES ON MÁRWÁR. — HE INVADES IT WITH A LARGE ARMY — IS MET BY THE ARMY OF MÁRWÁR. — EXCITES DISSENSION AMONG THE RÁJPUTS — DESPERATE ATTACK ON HIS CAMP — RETREAT OF MALDEO — SHÍR SHAH TURNS OFF TOWARDS CHEITUR — AND THENCE TO KALINJER — CAPTURE OF THAT FORT, AND DEATH OF SHIR SHAH — HIS CHARACTER, ABILITIES AND GREAT DESIGNS — SCANTY RECORDS OF HIS CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

WHEN Shír Shah entered the Penjáb on the invitation of Kámrán's envoy, his successes had so far exceeded his expectations, that he could hardly believe his own good fortune, and was apprehensive that the total want of opposition which he experienced might be a stratagem to draw him on into danger. After crossing the Satlej and the Biah as he came near the capital of the

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Shir Shah occupies the Penjáb on the flight of Humáyun and Kámrán

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Penjáb, and still found himself unopposed by any effective force, his suspicions were further confirmed that this system of retreat was a mere feint, and that Kámrán and his brothers had withdrawn all their troops, and retired for a moment, only to return with their united force, and enclose him on every side with greater certainty, when he should have incautiously advanced into a country, where it would be easy to cut off his communication with that through which he had passed. He, therefore, proceeded slowly, sending a strong column in advance, and followed, cautiously, with the rest of his army and his artillery, which he brought forward ready for action. But, in a few days, hearing from all quarters of the discord among the brothers, he became persuaded that the baseness of Kámrán in negotiating a secret treaty with him was not affected, and saw that he might prudently venture on bolder measures. He, therefore, pushed on for Láhúr. His sudden approach, as we have seen, dispersed the brothers and not content with occupying the capital of Kámrán, he pursued them in their flight. On reaching the Chenáb, he detached one party to pursue Humáyun and such of the Mírzas as had taken the Multán road, and another to follow Kámrán to the Niláb or Indus, whilst he himself proceeded to Khusháb on the Jelem. Thence he proceeded to Bhíra, where he halted for some time, to cover the troops which he sent out to take possession of every part of the Penjáb. The Balúches, a barbarous and daring tribe, had long been settled in great numbers in the lower part of that country. Ismael Khan, Gházi Khan and Fateh Khan Balúch Dudai, who were chiefs of various clans or districts, acknowledged Shír Shah, and the whole of the rich and extensive country between the Jelem and the Satley submitted to him without a blow *

* Akbernama, f 54, Tar Nizami, f 215

While encamped at Bhira, Shir Shah sent to invite Sultan Sirung and Sultan Adim to visit his camp, or, in other words, to submit to his authority. They were the chieftains of the Gakers, and ruled the greater part of the rough hilly country lying between the Jelm and the Indus. But these chiefs, who had long been on friendly terms with Baber and his family, declined the invitation. The Gakers are a numerous tribe. Their country lies to the north of the Punjab, though they seem in earlier times, to have extended as far down as Multan. Their present territory, the same that they occupied in Shir Shah's time, extends over the greater part of the tract of country that lies to the north of the Jelm hills, or Salt Range, between the Indus and the mountains. It is a table land buttressed by the Salt Range rising eight hundred feet above the plains of the Punjab. The Gakers are famed for their beauty, and claim a Rajput origin. Their country is rugged, mountainous, and intersected by rugged ravines and precipitous dells, which make it easily defensible, and, in all ages, they have bravely defended it.*

CHAP. I
The Gakers
refuse to
submit,

Shir Shah, who was eager to reduce the Gakers to obedience, penetrated into their country as far as Hattin†, one of their chief places, whence he sent out strong detachments to scour the neighbourhood. But the Gakers, with undimmed courage, attacked and defeated his troops, took a number of them prisoners and sold them for slaves. The king proposed to revenge this affront by attacking them in person, and mentioned his design in council, but his nobles unanimously

and defeat
his detach-
ments.

* See Hephinstone's *Cabul*, and Burnes's *Travels*. "From Rotas," says the last-named traveller, "we entered a mountainous and rugged country of great strength, and our road lay in ravines. The chaos of rocks, their vertical strata, terminating in needles from decomposition,

the round pebbles that lay imbedded in the sand stone, and the wild scenery, made this an interesting neighbourhood. Burnes's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 55.

† In Baber's *Memoirs* mention is made of a Hatt Gaker, from whom probably the place was named.

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joined in advising him to lay aside all thoughts of such an undertaking, which, from the bravery of the enemy, and the broken and difficult nature of their country, would require, not only a strong force, but much time and great circumspection. They justly remarked that, to subjugate such a race effectually, it was necessary to possess, in their vicinity, some strong hold, which could serve as a place of arms, in which a strong force could be permanently stationed. that this would not only bridle their incursions into his territory, but that detachments could be sent out from it to waste the country and harass the inhabitants, so as to compel them to abandon their most troublesome fastnesses. that this could only be the work of time, which he could little spare, as the rich and extensive empire of Hindustán called for all his vigilance. These considerations decided Shír Shah to suspend the proposed attack, but he determined to erect on the borders of their country a strong fortress, on the grand line of road between Kábul and India, that might at once be a formidable barrier against invasions from the north, and enable him to penetrate at will into the Gaker country. Having surveyed the hills of Nander*, and in the vicinity of Balnáth, he selected a spot, and to the north of the Jelem, on the border of the Gaker territory, he began to build, on one of them, a fortress of singular strength which he called Rhotas, after his favourite castle of that name in Behár. It was completed in the course of some years, in a style of massy grandeur, that excited the wonder of his own times, as well as the admiration of succeeding ages. Eager to return to his dominions in the south, he appointed his favourite general Khowás Khan, Sipáhsalái, or commander-in-chief of all the Penjáb, with an allowance of a tenth part of the revenue of the province, and committing to Haibat Khan

He erects
the strong
fortress of
Rhotas,

* The Tar Akberi, f. 166 has Nizámi, f. 215 has Nandina the Tilch Nandina or Fanda the Tar Nisabnama, Nandana

NAZI the charge of the building of Rhotas with the command of a special force in the north-west, he returned to Delhi, whence he soon after proceeded on towards Agra * chap. I
and returns
to Delhi
and Agra.

* Akbarnama, f. 54, Feb. Akbarnama, f. 166, Tar. Nuzumi f. 217. Ferishta II. p. 118. The ruins of Rhotas were visited by Burnes in 1832. "On the 1st of March," says he, "we reached the celebrated fort of Rhotas, considered to be one of the great bulwarks between Fatah and India. As we wound through the diurnal defiles, and might be ruminating on the various expeditions which had traversed this very road, the fort burst upon our view, like the scene of a magic lantern. It had been hidden from us by towering precipices. We approached its ponderous walls by a struggling path, which time had chiselled in the rock, and soon reached its lofty gateway. The black hoary aspect of the fort, and the arid sterility of the surrounding rocks, imparted us with no favourable view of the neighbourhood, which has been the resort of many a desperate band. "Shir Shah was its founder. Twelve years and some millions of rupees are said to have been wasted in its construction." When Humayun returned from his exile, "he commanded that the fort of Rhotas should be levelled, but so massy are its walls, and so strong is the whole edifice, that his Amirs and Oomrahs ventured to ask his Majesty, whether he came to recover his throne or destroy a single fort, since the one undertaking would require as much energy as the other. Humayun contented himself with levelling a palace and a gateway as the monument of his conquest, and prudently marched to Delhi. We examined its walls and outworks, its

gates and bastions, and the people pointed out to us the orifices for pouring oil on the besiegers. We viewed with admiration the elaborate loopholes for the matchlock, the deep wells cut in the live rock, and the bomb-proof magazines of the fortification. Travels, vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

According to the Afghan accounts, the difficulties at ending the erection of Rhotas were not small. They say that Shir Shah, before beginning to build, invited the Gakker Chiefs to come and acknowledge him. They sent him in answer a pushkesh of some quivers full of arrows, and two maces, with a message that being soldiers, they had nothing else to give. Shir Shah enraged at the insult, replied that they might rest assured, that God willing, he would drive such a nail into their breasts as should not be removed till the day of judgment. He then selected one Toder Khetri to build the castle, supplying him plentifully with money, and returned to Agra.

The Gakker chiefs, in alarm, engaged by oaths to each other, not to assist in the work, and issued an injunction prohibiting all their dependants from serving at it as labourers, under pain of banishment. For sometime Toder was unable to procure a single stonemason, and the work was at a stand. This state of things he reported to Shir Shah, who answered, "I selected you from among many, to execute this work, thinking you a man of sense and experience. You have been supplied with money. Go on, at any expense, to fulfil my object, and draw

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A D 1542

Quells a re-
volt in
BengalResolves to
reduce
Malwa.
A D 1549

It was his intention to have made arrangements for the good government of that city, now his capital, and of the various districts dependant upon it, and he seems now to have struck coin, and made the prayer for the sovereign be read there in his name, as King of Hindustán. But news having arrived, that Khizer Khan Suwámi, to whom he had entrusted the government of Bengal, had married the daughter of Mahmúd Shah Pínabi, the late king of that country, and had assumed the state of a sovereign prince, Shír Shah deemed it prudent, before engaging in any other enterprise, to check this incipient defection in the bud. Without loss of time, therefore, he marched into Bengal.* Khizer Khan, unable to offer any resistance, came out in istakbál to meet him, and was seized and thrown into prison. Shír Shah then proceeded to divide the provinces of that rich kingdom among a number of officers wholly independent of each other, and leaving Kázi Fazlát, better known by the name of Kázi Fazíhat, a man eminent for his learning as well as his talents, to superintend the whole with the title of Amín, hurried back to Agra, where he now found leisure to settle everything according to his wishes†

As soon as the affairs of the capital were arranged, Shír Shah turned his eyes to the neighbouring provinces, some of which had not yet yielded to his arms

on my treasury for the amount, whatever it may be." Toder, it is added, on receiving this order, on the first day offered such workmen as would engage, an ashrafi for every stone, and every one who brought a stone received a yellow ashrafi. The Gakars, hearing this, disregarding the prohibition, came down in such numbers that, in a very short time, the rate was reduced by competition to one rupee each stone, and by and by to ten takkas, till at last it came to one belihli. In this

manner, it is added, by dint of expense, was the fort completed. When a report of what was doing was made to Shír Shah, he entirely approved of what had been done, and praised the conduct of Toder most highly. Nisabnama-e Afghannan, ff 94, 95.

* Khol ul Towárikh, f 276. Some authors defer this till his subsequent return to Agra.

† Tar Niz f 215, Tab Akberi, f 166, Tar Bed 189.

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His first object seems to have been to reduce the extensive and populous country of Malwa, for which purpose he led his army towards the fort of Guáhlár, which was still held for Humáyun by Abul Kásim Beg Guáhlár, which was reckoned impregnable to open force, had for some time been blockaded by Shujaa Khan, one of Shír Shah's Amírs, and the garrison was already reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions. In consequence of this, the King, as he approached the place, had the satisfaction of being met by the besieging general, and by the governor of the castle, who surrendered that important fortress into his hands *

Guáhlár surrenders.

The victorious Afghán now continued his march into Malwa. It was by no means in a settled condition. When Humáyun, six years before, after his return from Gujrát, had hastily quitted the kingdom, that he might counteract the ambitious designs of his brother Askari and reduce the growing power of Shír Khan, Malu Khan, one of the principal officers of the late Khulji government, assisted by the good wishes of the Zemindárs and natives, attacked the imperial generals, who had been left behind with very inadequate means of resistance, and being attended with an almost invariable course of success, in about a year reduced the whole of Malwa from Gujrát to Bhilsa under his power. Malu Khan was thus encouraged to assume the ensigns of sovereignty, and he accordingly mounted the throne at Mándu, under the title of Káder Shah of Malwa. About the same time Bhopat and Puran-Mal, the sons of the late Raja Siláh-ed-dín or Silhádi, who had possessed such extensive dominions in that kingdom, returned from Chetúr, to which they had fled on their father's death, and recovered their family possessions of Ráisen, and Chandéri, acknowledging the new king as their superior lord †

Recent state of Malwa

A. H. 944

Kader Shah assumes the sovereignty

* Ibid

† Ferishta, vol. II p. 271, Malu Khan is described in the Tabakát, f. 166 and in the Tar Niz f. 115,

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Quarrels
with Shīr
Shah,

Scarcely was Káder Shah seated on his throne, when he received a letter from Shīr Shah, then only King of Bengal, inviting him to make a diversion on the side of Agia, so as to distract the attention of Humáyūn, their common enemy, who was then once more on his march to attack the Afghán prince. This letter, or firmán, was sealed at the top, a form used in addressing an inferior. The new king, offended at what he held to be an insult, returned his answer by a similar letter or firmán, sealed in like manner at the top. On receiving it Shīr Shah, filled with indignation, tore off the seal, which he placed on the point of his sword, at the same time exclaiming, that if he was ever fortunate enough to meet with Káder Shah, he should know in what way to remind him of this indignity.*

who
marches
against him,
A D 949

Apparent
reconcili-
ation be-
tween them

When Shīr Shah now at length entered Malwa, Káder Shah, unable to cope with him in the field, retired before him. The Afghán advanced into the very heart of the new king's dominions. When he had reached Sarangpūr on the Kali-Sind, Káder Shah, probably seeing little prospect of being able to make a successful resistance, to the great surprise of Shīr Shah's officers, though probably by a private understanding with that prince himself, made his appearance one morning at the King of Delhi's Derbái. The two princes retiring, conferred together, after which Káder Shah was introduced with the greatest ceremony and honours, received a present of an hundred and one horses, was presented with the dress worn by Shīr Shah when they met, and invited to sleep in the royal tents. Next day, the army marched on to Ujain, where the Afghán caused his minister and relative, Shujaa

and by Ferishta, p 274 as one of the officers of the late Khilji government. Bedáuni, f 149 says that he was one of the slaves of the Khilji Sultans, and was entrusted

with absolute power in the kingdom. By Beháder Shah he was treated with great distinction, probably as the Prime Minister of Malwa

* Ibid

Khan, to perform obeisance to Káder Shah, as King of Malwa. But this deference was of short duration, and only assumed to serve a purpose, for, the day after, Shír Shah informed the King of Malwa, that he had been graciously pleased to confer on him the government of Laknau, to which he must remove with his family without loss of time. This was language not to be misunderstood, and we may well wonder that, after this resolution had been communicated to him, Káder Shah should still have found means to effect his escape, which he did, disguised as a slave, and with his family retired into Gujrát*. Shír Shah, being thus left in the undisturbed possession of the country, appointed Shujaa Khan to the command of Sivás, and in general of the eastern portion of Malwa, giving Háji Khan Sultan charge of Dhár and the western districts of his new conquest, after which, he himself marched to the northward to secure the possession of Rántambói†.

CHAAP I
Artifice of
Shír Shah,

and flight
of Káder
Shah to
Gujrát.

But Malwa, although conquered, was far from being settled. For many years past it had been almost entirely divided among a number of great local chiefs who were nearly independent. The direct power of the kings had, therefore, been extremely limited. The first step towards establishing absolute power in the person of Shír Shah, which was called securing the peace of the country, seemed to be to get possession of the persons of the most distinguished of these chieftains, and this Shujaa Khan resolved to effect. In pursuance of this policy, Moyín Khan of Sivás, one of the most powerful of them, who was at the time in Shujaa's camp, was taken into custody by his orders.

Attempt to
seize the
Nobles at
Malwa.

* The Nisabnama-e Afghanan, 273 and II p 119, Bedáuni, f 96 gives a somewhat different account of these transactions.

† Tabak Akb f 166, Tar Niz f 215, Ferishta IV 270—

149 There are some discrepancies of little moment, concerning the powers of these Amírs

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A. D. 1542.

On hearing of this outrage, Moyín's son Nasír Khan immediately collected all the force of his principality, and marched as far as Sarangpúr to his father's rescue. But Shujaa Khan, being joined by the Raja of Guáhar, who had lost his capital, defeated Nasír Khan in battle, and forced him to take refuge in the wild mountains of Gondwána *

Káder Shah returns, and is defeated.

Meanwhile, Káder Shah, having had time to breathe after his expulsion, collected a body of adherents on the borders of Gujrát, and advanced from Bhanswára to attack Háji Khan. Shujaa Khan, informed of his motions and that a battle was likely to take place in two days, threw himself into his palankeen, and proceeding with all possible speed for forty-eight hours, joined Háji Khan in the evening, where he lay in sight of the enemy. He was still in time to make arrangements for anticipating the enemy by a night attack, which fully succeeded, Káder's army being dispersed, and his camp taken. Shír Shah, admiring the talents and activity of his general, soon after recalled Háji Khan, and nominated Shujaa Khan sole Governor of Malwa. From this period we hear no more of Káder Shah †

Rántambór surrendered to Shír Shah

Shír Shah, on leaving Malwa, marched for Rántambór, which was still held by the adherents of Sultan Mahmúd Khiljí. But that strong place being soon yielded up by capitulation, he once more returned to Agra, where he was allowed to spend nearly a year in arranging the civil and military administration of his dominions, now so extensive in Hindustán, in Malwa, in Bengal and the Penjáb. In this last province, Haibat Khan had

He returns to Agra.

A. D. 930

A. D. 1543

Multan occupied in his name

* Ut supra.

† Ferishta as above. Ferishta II 119 says that Rántambór was still held for Prince Muhammed Lodí, probably meaning Mahmúd Shah Lodí, the son of Sultan Sekander Lodí. But that prince seems to have died some time before. The Ta-

bakát and Taríkh-e Nizámi, as well as the Nisabnáma, f 96, affirm that it was held by the servants of Sultan Mahmud Khiljí, which is most probable. The governor, according to Bedauni, f 149, was Khan Khanan Sirwáni.

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A D 1543

He returns
to MalwaCapitula-
tion of Rai-
senTreachery
of Shír
Shah,

As soon as affairs admitted of his absence from the capital, he resolved to turn his arms once more against Malwa. Though the greater part of that kingdom had submitted to him, Puran-Mal, the son of Silhádi Purebi the late powerful Rájput chieftain, still maintained himself in Ráisen, Chandúr and the surrounding districts, in great force. To give his operations the appearance of a Holy War, and to excite the enthusiasm of his Muhammedan soldiers, Shír Shah gave out, that his chief reason for the war was to punish Puran-Mal, a Hindu infidel, who, among the two thousand women shut up in his harem, had dared to detain many Moslem females as concubines. The fort of Ráisen was blockaded, and attacked for a long time without success, the Rájputs making a vigorous resistance. At length, when both parties were worn out, terms were proposed by the mediation of Prince Adel Khan and of Kutb Khan Náib, and a capitulation was entered into, by which Puran-Mal agreed to surrender the fort; while Shír Shah, on his part, undertook to allow the Rájput prince to retreat uninjured, with his whole family, women and followers, and all their effects and property. On the faith of this treaty, solemnly ratified, Puran-Mal marched out, and encamped, attended by about four thousand Rájput horse. This escape of their heathen enemy filled with indignation Shír Shah's divines and spiritual advisers, particularly Mír Syed Rafia-ed-dín, all of whom, not ignorant of their master's wishes, signed and presented to him a regular fetwa, or opinion, declaring that such an agreement made with infidels was contrary to religion, and was not binding, and that the king's duty was to visit his unbelieving foe with indiscriminate slaughter. Shír Shah, basely acting on their base decree, after taking possession of the fort, surrounded the Raja's camp with all his army, and poured in showers of arrows upon them. Thus treacherously assailed, the Rájput and his followers de-

terminated to sell their lives dearly. They, therefore, according to the custom of their race, first put to death all their women and children. After this, to disappoint the avarice of their relentless enemies, they heaped up their rich stuffs, jewels and all the valuable property which they possessed, and setting fire to their tents and pavilions, consumed the whole in the flames. They then proceeded in a body to meet death, and, each tying himself to his neighbour by his skirt or girdle, they charged the army of the King with desperate valour, cut to pieces a number of their enemies, till, surrounded and assailed by overwhelming numbers, they fell, fighting to the last man. In this massacre, about ten thousand of every age and sex are said to have fallen.*

CHAP I

and massacre of the garrison.

After this unworthy success, Shih Shah returned once more to Agra, where he remained several months, being detained, part of the time, by a dangerous illness. Here his ambition led him to meditate new conquests on the side of the Rájpút country. The death of Rána Sangá and the minorities that followed had introduced much discord and disorder into the government of Chaitúr or Mewái, and the repeated attacks made on their territory by the King of Gujrát and the Emperor of Delhi, with the defeats sustained by the Rána in the wars with these princes, had reduced the extent of the dominions, no less than the political influence of that prince, the ancient head of the Rájpúts. Maldeo, who was at this time the chief of the rival principality of Nagór and Júdpúr (or Márwái), in this decline of the acknowledged head of their race, strained every nerve to raise himself to the high eminence, from which the

A II 951
III schemes
on Márwái

* Tar Niz ff 215, 210, Tabakat-e Akberi, Akbernámá, ff 54, 55, Nisabnama-e Afgh ff 96, 97, Khulasat ul Towarikh, f 277, Tar Bedauni, f 149. The Nisabnama says that two only were found alive after this massacre, both female children, one of them the daughter of Maldeo, whom Shih Shah consigned to be brought up as a dancing girl; the other he gave up to a party of jugglers, or bázigars. This, if true, would be an additional stain on his character.

BOOK VI

A.D. 1544

Rána seemed to be falling a station which he deemed to be due to him, at least from his power. Maldeo appears to have possessed great talents, as well as the bravery common to all his family. According to the historian of the Rájputs, the prince of Márwái, in the course of ten years, by reducing many local hereditary chieftains under his sway, had extended his territories on every side, so that they comprehended all the present country of Márwái, including Merta, Nagór and Filáhi, much of Bikanér and Bikanpúr, Ajmír with several other smaller districts, and a large portion of Ambér or Jeipúr, which brought him close on the limits of Agra and Delhi. Several of the petty princes in that quarter, who had formerly acknowledged the Lodi Kings of Delhi, had now submitted to him. The immediate cause or pretext of the quarrel between Maldeo and Shír Shah is not explained, but in the state of confusion to which the country to the west of the Jamna was reduced, by the destruction of the House of Lodi, the expulsion of the House of Taimur, and the breaking up of the overruling influence of that of Rána Sánga, there could hardly fail to be disputes between two princes of equal ambition, for the possession of the numerous towns and districts, which had been recently conquered by these powerful dynasties, but which, now deprived of their support, were looking round for some powerful protector. Whatever the cause, Shír Shah resolved to invade Maldeo's territories of Ajmír and Nagói, of which the Raja had but recently gained possession.

Invasades it
with a large
army

Well aware of the difficulty of the enterprise, he took the field with an army of no less than eighty thousand men*, and advanced towards Márwár, with a caution unusual in Indian wars. Wherever the army was to pass the night, he caused a trench and rampart to be

* The Kholáset gives him 50,000 horse

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the sentiments of many of his chiefs, believed the correspondence to be genuine, and put off the battle, which was to have been fought that very day. The more that his gallant Rájputs, who confidently anticipated a victory, urged him to an instant attack, the more was he convinced of their treachery, and he soon after ordered a retreat. The cause of this movement came to the knowledge of his chieftains, who felt their high sense of national honour wounded by the imputation with which they were unjustly charged, at the same time that their pride and high-raised expectations were disappointed by a retreat in the face of an enemy, whom they regarded as already in their power. In vain did they with oaths assert their innocence. One of them, Kumbha, the head of a Rájput principality, declared to Maldeo, that he was resolved to wipe off the aspersion thrown on the Rájput name by attacking the enemy, though he should be followed only by his own tribesmen.

Desperate
attack on
Shir Shah's
camp

Accordingly, as Maldeo with the army commenced his retreat, during the night, Kumbha, with eight or ten thousand men chiefly of his immediate followers, turned back, and marched to surprise the Afgháns. As their route lay over rough and broken ground, they were divided, and the greater number lost their way, so that only about four thousand at daybreak reached the hostile camp. Still, however, with the reckless intrepidity of their tribe, they rushed in with a furious onset, pushing for Shir Shah's tents. Dismounting, and using only their daggers and short swords, they bore down all opposition, and scattered dismay and death over the camp. Numbers of the Afgháns soon lay dead on the ground, and the bold daring and desperate valour of a handful of Rájputs seemed about to be rewarded by the rout and total discomfiture of their foes, when Jilál Khan Jilwání, an Afghán general, came up with a fresh body of troops in compact order.

Under cover of this timely succour, Shír Shah rallied his men, and the wearied Rájputís were surrounded, and assailed on every side by showers of arrows, which rapidly took effect. The Rájput ranks were soon thinned. Kumbha, with his most devoted followers, who had entered the fight determined not to retreat, fell, bravely fighting, to the number of two thousand. Shír Shah, after the battle was over, seeing the havoc that had been made in his army, and how nearly the fate of the day had been balanced, is said to have exclaimed, "How nearly had I thrown away the empire of Delhi in seeking for a handful of báji!" Báji, a poor and coarse grain, is the chief produce of the sandy and sterile plains of Márwár. Maldeo, meanwhile, continued his retreat into the hill-country of Júdpúr, but soon discovered, with grief and self-reproach, the artifice to which he had sacrificed the success of his campaign, and the glory of his arms, as well as the injustice he had done to his gallant countrymen.*

Retreat of
Maldeo

Shír Shah had already suffered too much in this expedition to venture to follow up his success against Maldeo and his Rájputís of Márwár, but, turning south, marched into Mewár, for the professed purpose of reducing Chetúr. The Rána, whose power had been much reduced since the reign of Rána Sánga, desirous to avert his arms, sent ambassadors, offering to acknowledge him as his superior lord. Shír Shah accepted this submission, and continued his march through the heart of the country of Dhandina, now Jeypúr, towards Rántambór, the jágún of his eldest son Adel Khan, who asked leave of absence from the Deibár, for a short time, to enable him to put the castle in order, and to

Shír Shah
turns off
towards
Chetúr

* See Tab Akb ff 186, 187, the brave Rájput chief is variously given, Kumbha, Kanba, Gobna, Tar Nizami, f 216, Tar Bedauni, ff 149, 150, Kholaset ul Towárikh, Goya, and Gooind. I have followed ff 277, 278, Ferishta II pp 121, Colonel Tod and Ferishta. Bedauni 122, Kháfí Khan, Tod's Rajasthan, calls him the Vakíl and Vazir of vol. II pp 24—27. The name of Maldeo

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A. D. 1545
and thence
to Kalinjér

provision it, having done which, he promised to rejoin his father *.

The King now turned his arms against the Raja of Kálinjer, a fort which was considered as the key of Bandélkand, and a most important position as regarded both Behár and Malwa. It "resembles in its situation," we are told, "and exceeds, in its size and natural strength, the fortress of Gualu, being built on a high rock of great extent, which forms one of the hills in the range of mountains extending from Rhotas, or Sahsarám, to the confines of Ajmir"†. The Raja, admonished by the fate of Puran-Mal, refused to listen to any terms of accommodation.

Capture of
that fort,
and death
of Shír
Shah

Batteries were raised against the fort, mines run and approaches made, but the siege was long. The works, however, were, at length, brought close to the place, a breach was effected, and an assault ready to be made, under a heavy cannonade, when, as Shír Shah was actively directing the operations, a rocket‡, discharged probably for the purpose of assisting to clear the breach, rebounded from the wall, and bursting, fell among, and blew up, the whole magazine or tumbrel of these fireworks, so that the King, and several noblemen and divines who were along with him||, were dreadfully burnt by the explosion. In spite of the excruciating

* The Tar Nizami does not mention the approach to Chetour, but leads him at once to Rantambor, f 216. The Nisábname leads him straight to Kalinjér, Adel Khan taking leave for Rantambor by the way. The Akbarnama makes the chiefs of Chetour "and Rantambor" send him the keys of their forts. Ferishta II p 123 makes Chetour surrender by capitulation.

† Hamilton's Gazetteer, in the Article "Callinger."

‡ Briggs's Ferishta, vol II, p 123 has, "a shell thrown against the fort

burst in the battery, and communicating to a powder magazine," &c produced this catastrophe. It may be doubted if bomb shells were then in use. The Tabakat, which has been followed by other authorities, has *hugga-hai pur dárue tefing*, pipes full of gunpowder, a description which would apply, either to rockets or grenades.

|| Among these were the celebrated Sheikh Khalil, Shír Shah's spiritual guide, Mulla Nizam Danishmend, and Deria Khan Sirwani.

BOOK VI

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the discipline and concerns of his army, one to his religious observances, and the remainder to rest and recreation. In his military character there was a rare union of caution and enterprise. He was remarkable for the care with which he never failed to defend his camp by trenches, and he paid more attention to his commissariat and his artillery, than any prince of his time. He received into his service the numerous adventurers who swarmed over India, marked or branded their horses to prevent frauds, and allowed them pay. He often attended in person, when the troops were to be paid, to receive any complaints, and to secure them against any undue deductions. His temper appears to have been generous: he was a lover of justice, and intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India, a knowledge without which no ruler in that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects. He was anxious to restore, and to open the communication between the different parts of his dominions, which had been grievously interrupted by the wars and revolutions of twenty preceding years. For this purpose, and in order to facilitate the safe and early transmission of intelligence, he built a line of *seráis**, or hostels, at short, regular distances, on the whole road from the farther extremity of Bengal to the Indus, through the entire length of his empire, and a similar line from Agra to Mádu, the high road by which the foreign trade from Gujrát to the interior of Hindustán passed in those days. These *seráis* were open to strangers of every rank and religion, and were entrusted to servants, who, at the public expense, furnished travellers with water and victuals, as they arrived, at one door of the *serái* supplying victuals, dressed or undressed, to Musulmans, at another undressed victuals to Hindus. Every *Serái*

* Abulfazl says that he erected the *Hákims* of Bengal." Akbernáma, these *Seráis*, "after the fashion of f 55

had a doasp-bain, or post-house, called by the Hindus Dákehóki, so that news even from the Niláb was conveyed in a few days to the court, wherever it might be, and this system of post houses he extended in different directions over the principal roads in his dominions, enlarging the number of horses, so as to answer not only the purpose of conveying intelligence to the government, but also the demands of private trade and correspondence. The system was not a new one, but had fallen into disuse, and was by him much improved and extended. One other object which he had in forming the great line of posts was to prevent the influx of Chaghátáis into his kingdom, and to afford the earliest notice of any invasion or movement from Kábul, whence he dreaded the return of the exiled family. On each side of the grand roads were planted rows of mango and other fruit trees, affording both shelter and refreshment to the tired and thirsty passenger and wells, supported by solid masonry, were dug at short distances. At all the chief halting-places, he built mosques, and provided for them an adequate establishment of Inams, Moazzins and servants. He appears also to have made provision for the care of the indigent sick.* The police, which he established, was strict and vigilant. So safe were the highways, we are told, that the most helpless person might carry a bason of gold, and sleep in the open country, without need of a watchman.

He seems to have had more of the spirit of a legislator and of a guardian of his people, than any prince

* A great part of this establishment still remained in Bedaunis time, after the lapse of fifty-two years, f 148 and Kháfí Khan, f 59 at a still later period, remarks, "It is said that the class of persons, who are now to be found in the various serais of Hindustán, generally

known by the name of Bhatiarahs, and whose employment it is to kindle fires and perform other menial offices for travellers, are the descendants of the people originally placed there by Shír Shah." Perhaps, however, this establishment may be found to date from a still earlier period.

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A D 1545

before Akber By his enemies, he is accused of perfidy, and facts seem to justify the charge But it is to be remembered that his history has been transmitted to us by his enemies chiefly and the charge, unfortunately, is not confined to him individually, but extends to nearly all the princes who were his contemporaries When we consider the confusion, approaching to anarchy, which prevailed all over Hindustán at the moment of his accession to the throne, and the incessant wars that he carried on during his short reign, we must feel surprise that, with all his habitual activity, he was able to effect so much as he did, and that, in so limited a time, he so entirely acquired and so long retained, the affection of his subjects He himself, when contemplating the disorder that prevailed at his accession, the plans of reform which he meditated, and his own advanced period of life, was heard to exclaim, "Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day" His memory was long cherished by his subjects with fond admiration and regret *

Some incidents related of him may serve to illustrate his character He was eminently distinguished for the impartiality with which he administered justice, without respect of persons One day, his eldest son Adel Khan, riding on an elephant through a street of Agra, in passing a house the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of the inhabitant, a shop-

* Tab Akb f 178 , Tar Niz f 217 , Tar Bed f 148 , Briggs's Ferishta, vol ii p 125 , Dow's Ferishta, vol ii p 265 , Akbernama, f 54, 55 , Kholáset ul Towarikh, ff 278, 279 , Kháfí Khan, ff 57—59

Shír Shah seems, in several instances, to have destroyed older towns, and rebuilt them elsewhere In the first year of his reign, he destroyed old Kanauj, and built, says Bedáuni, f 147, "what is now

called Shir-ghar on the banks of the Ganges" In like manner, he destroyed Shemsabad, and restored it in another place At Delhi, he destroyed the old fort, and began a new one on a larger scale, which he left unfinished Fabak Akberí He is also said to have meditated the destruction of Lahur, that it might not serve as a *place d'armes* to the Chaghatái princes, in any future attack on India

keeper, undressed and bathing herself. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bha-pán*, and passed on. The woman, who considered that, by this freedom, he treated her as a wanton, feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levée of Shír Shah, and, among other suitors, presented his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced, and that the shopkeeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw a *bha-pán* to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. Such, he said, was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant: that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied, and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.*

At the battle on the Chonsí, Háji Begum, Humáyun's wife, was taken prisoner. Shír Shah treated her with every mark of courtesy and respect, and on Humáyun's return from Persia to Kábul, she was sent back to her husband in the most honourable manner.

The day that he made his entrance into Delhi, a woman, who sold vegetables, called out to her neighbour, as he passed: "Delhi, truly, has got a master, but he is an old one." She was overheard by the King, who, on this, made his horse caper and show off and

BOOK VI

A D 1545

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Shír Shah was diverted when he heard the old woman add, "Well, old though he be, he is an active one"²⁸

Shír Shah was buried in his family estate at Sah-sarám, in a very magnificent mausoleum, erected in his lifetime, and which still exists. It stands in the centre of a small lake about a mile in circumference, bounded by masonry, with a descent by a flight of steps to the water.

Scanty
records of
his civil
administra-
tion

It is impossible to conclude the history of such a prince, without regretting that so few materials remain for affording a view of the internal administration of his dominions. Many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akber, and seem to have made a part of Toder-Mal's improved system of finance. But Shír Shah was soon succeeded in the throne by a hostile family, whose partizans were not disposed to see any merit in the virtues of an enemy †

* Ibid f 279

† The chief authorities for this reign are the *Tabakát-e Akberi*, the *Tar Bedáuni*, the *Khol ul Towárikh*, *Ferishta*, the *Akbernáma* and

Kháfi Khán. *Ferishta* does justice to the Afgháns. *Abulfazl* views all their proceedings with a prejudiced eye.

CHAPTER II

SULTAN ISLĀM, OR SELIM SHAH SUR

SHIR SHAH'S SECOND SON PLACED ON THE THRONE — WEAKNESS AND PROFICIACY OF HIS ELDER BROTHER — MEETING OF THE BROTHERS, WHO PROCEED TOGETHER TO THE CAPITAL — ISLĀM'S SCHEME FOR SEIZING HIS BROTHER FAHS — FORMAL SUBMISSION OF ADEL KHAN, WHO RETIRES TO BĪĀNA — FURTHER ATTEMPT TO SEIZE HIM — HE FLIES TO KHOWĀS KHAN IN NEWĪT — THEY ARE JOINED BY SOME OF THE CHIEF AMIRS, AND MARCH ON AGRA — ALARM OF ISLĀM AT THEIR APPROACH — HE MOVES OUT TO MEET THEM — DEFEAT, FLIGHT AND DISAPPEARANCE OF ADEL KHAN — ISLAM SECURES HIS FATHER'S TREASURES IN CHUĀR — PROCURES THE DEATHS OF THE HOSTILE CHIEFS — EXTENT OF HIS DOMINIONS — HIS JEALOUSY OF THE GOVERNORS OF MALWA AND GUJRĀT — THREATENED REVOLT IN THE PENJĀB. — NEW WORKS AT AGRA AND DELHI. — THE ARMIES OF HINDUSTĀN AND THE PENJĀB MEET AT AMBĀLA — DEFEAT OF THE REBELS — ISLĀM OCCUPIES THE PENJĀB — AND REPAIRS TO GUĀLIĀR. — FATE OF KHOWĀS KHAN — POWER OF THE AFGHĀN NOBLES UNDER THE SUR DYNASTY — SHUJĀA KHAN OF MALWA — ATTEMPT ON HIS LIFE BY AN AFGHĀN — HIS QUARREL WITH ISLĀM — WHO INVADES MALWA — FLIGHT AND RESTORATION OF SHUJĀA KHAN — TEMPORARY SUCCESS, AND FINAL DEFEAT OF AZUḤ HUMAYUN IN THE PENJĀB. — DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF ISLĀM AFTER THE VICTORY — HE ADVANCES TO RHOTAS — CONTESTS WITH THE GAKERS — DISCONTENTS IN HIS CAMP — HE MAKES PEACE WITH THE GAKERS, ON THEIR EXPELLING THE REBELS — WHO RETREAT TOWARDS KASHMIR — AND ARE EXTERMINATED IN THE DEFILES — ISLĀM BUILDS MĀNKŌT — HIS NARROW ESCAPE FROM ASSASSINATION — KĀMRĀN VISITS HIS CAMP — ADVANCE AND RETREAT OF HUMĀYUN — MEDITATED DESTRUCTION OF LĀHUR, AND REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL TO MĀNKOT — MUTUAL SUSPICIONS OF ISLAM AND HIS NOBLES — DEATH OF ISLĀM SHAH — HIS CHARACTER AND POLICY — ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE — ACCOUNT OF SHEIKH ALĀI, AND THE MEHDEVIS

CHAP II

ON the occurrence of the melancholy event which arrested Shīr Shah in the midst of his successful career, the Afghān chiefs, who were in the camp, assembled and consulted together. None of the late

A. D. 1545
A. H. 952
Shīr Shah's
second son
placed on
the throne

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A D 1545

A H 952
Rebl I 15
May 27

Weakness
and pro-
fligacy of
his elder
brother

King's sons was on the spot Adel Khan, the eldest, was still at Rántambór Jilál Khan, his next brother, who was then not far off, at Rewah*, a town in the Pergana of Kalnjer, got immediate notice of his father's death; and being favoured by a strong party of the principal Amírs, arrived in the camp in three days There, chiefly through the influence of Isa Khan Hijáb, he was proclaimed King, and ascended the throne, in the fort of Kalnjer, under the name of Sultan Islám Shah, though by the natives of India he was generally called Selím Shah, and, by the northern or Chaghatái soldiers, Selím Khan

The ostensible reason assigned by the Afghán Amírs for thus passing over the heir-apparent was the distance from the army at which he happened to be at that crisis, and the necessity, in order to prevent rebellion or any ambitious pretensions to the succession, that the vacant throne should be filled without delay It would appear, however, that Adel Khan, who was of a depraved character, was very unpopular among at least one portion of the Afgháns, and that he was in reality set aside, even more on account of the weakness of his character than for his hopeless depravity and profligacy †

Immediately on his accession, Islám wrote to his brother, Adel Khan, telling him that he had been constrained, against his will, in order to prevent any commotions and from other public considerations, to assume for a time the title of sovereign, but that he was about to repair to the capital, where he hoped to meet him, and to have an opportunity of manifesting all the

* The village of Rewah, near Panna Panna is south of Kalnjer, Rewa south-east in Bogilkan The Tar Niz f 217 has Ayun, the Tab Akb Riun a dependancy of Bhal, the Nisábnáma, f 165 Diún a dependancy of Panna Different

authors make the enthronement three, five, and eight days after the late King's death Bedáuni says he was called from Talua

† Tar Niz f 217, Tab Akb f 178, Akbernáma, f 91, Nisábnáma, f 165, Ferishta, vol ii p 126

attachment and obedience due to him as his elder brother. He then set out for Agra. On reaching Kora in the Doab, he was met by Khowās Khan, the commander-in-chief, a nobleman of great influence, who arrived from his jāgīr of Sirhend, and the ceremony of enthronement was once more gone through, submissions made, and offerings presented, with much pomp and festivity, after which, Islām again wrote to his brother, calling upon him, in conciliating and humble terms, to hasten to meet him.

Adel Khan, justly jealous of Islām or Selīm's intentions, wrote to Kūtub Khān Nāib, Khowās Khan, Isa Khān Nūzī and Jilāl Khān Jilwānī, who were regarded as the principal Afghān nobles, to ascertain whether, if he complied with his brother's invitation, he could depend on their protection. He, at the same time, wrote to inform his brother that, if these four noblemen came to conduct him and guaranteed his safety, he was ready to accompany them to Agra.

To this proposal Selīm agreed, and the four great Amīrs accordingly proceeded to wait upon Adel Khan, reassured him as to his personal security, promised that he should be put in possession of whatever jāgīr in Hindustān he might choose, and, after the first interview with the King, should be at liberty to repair to it, freely and without impediment. On the faith of these assurances Adel Khan set out, and Selīm, who had proceeded as far as Sikrī* on a hunting party, hearing of his approach, went and received him in a field near Shikārpūr, where rich cloths were spread on the ground, on which the two princes took their seat with much state. The two brothers, at this meeting, showed every sign of mutual affection, Selīm repeating his excuses for the part which necessity had compelled him to act. After sitting and conversing together for some time in

Meeting of
the brothers,
who pro-
ceed to-
gether to the
capital

* Afterwards Fatehpur-Sikrī

BOOK VI

A D 1545

Islām's
scheme for
seizing his
brother
falls

the most friendly manner, they rose and set out for Agra. On reaching the citadel, although Selīm had given strict orders to the guard that only two or three attendants should be allowed to enter along with his brother, yet the Amīrs by whom Adel Khan was accompanied, being by no means satisfied what the King's intentions were, in spite of all opposition, pushed forward after him with their followers and adherents in considerable numbers, into the hall of public audience, and thus defeated the plan that Selīm had formed of seizing his brother's person.

The King, not disconcerted by this failure, heaped every mark of honour and distinction upon his brother, overwhelmed him with flattery, and renewed his assurances of respect and obedience. He repeated his former assertions that he had assumed power only to keep his turbulent countrymen in order, and to retain the sovereignty in their father's family, but added, that the happy moment was at length arrived when he could follow the dictates of his heart and duty, and resign both the command of the army and the possession of the throne to the legitimate heir. So saying, he approached Adel Khan and, taking hold of his hands, placed him on the throne. Adel Khan was not deceived by the apparent warmth of his brother's professions, but, being more of a boon companion and a lover of ease than a man of action, had not the courage nor the presence of mind to take advantage of them. He saw their insincerity, and he believed himself in danger. He, therefore, immediately rose from the throne, and in his turn, seated Selīm Shah upon it, at the same time saluting him as his sovereign lord, and offering the customary congratulations. His example was instantly followed by all the nobles of the court, who presented their offerings, and tendered their homage, as is usual at the commencement of a new reign. Selīm Shah, if defeated in his original purpose, thus at least effected a great object,

Formal sub-
mission of
Adel Khan,

by seducing his brother to make a solemn and public renunciation of his rights Adel Khan fixed upon Biána as his jágir, and when the first interview was over, was allowed, according to agreement and by the intervention of the four great Amírs, to retire to that place, attended by Isa Khan Núzi and Khowás Khan *

CHAP. II.

who retires to Biána.

But, hardly had two months elapsed, during which time Selím Shah was everywhere acknowledged as King, when he despatched Gházi Mahalí†, one of the chief officers of his household, to Biána with a pair of golden fetters, and with orders to seize Adel Khan and bring him as a prisoner to court. Adel Khan, informed of his approach and intention, hastened from Biána to Mewát, where Khowás Khan then was, and complained to him bitterly of his brother's breach of faith. The hardy veteran, attached to the family of Shíi Shah, in which he had risen to dignity from the rank of a slave, and hurt by the insult offered to himself by this open infraction of a solemn agreement to which he was a party, gave orders for seizing Gházi Mahalí, and placed on his feet the fetters which he had brought for Adel Khan‡. This was an insult that could have been offered to royalty, only by one who was prepared to go all lengths. Khowás Khan followed it up by writing to the principal Amírs who were with Selím Shah, several of whom were already much offended with that prince's conduct, and privately brought them over to his plans. Being joined by Isa Khan Núzi, he set out along with him and the prince for Agra, at the head of a considerable army. On the road he received letters from Kutb Khan and Jilál Khan Jilwání, who, like them, had guaranteed the safety of Adel Khan, de-

Further attempt to seize him

He flies to Khowás Khan in Mewat

They are joined by some of the Chief Amírs,

and march on Agra.

* Ut suprà, Add Tar Bedáuni, f 153, and Kháfi Khan

† The Tar Niz, the Nisabnama and other authorities call him Ghazi Khan, the Tar Niz adds, az Moharraman va mokarrabín, e o (Sul-

tán) Ferishta calls him "an eunuch"

‡ Ferishta says that Khowás sent back Ghazi to the court with his feet in the golden fetters

BOOK VI

A D 1545

claring their willingness to support the faith which they had pledged to Adel, and to join him, but they required, in compliance with a point of Afghán honour, an instance of which we have already met with, that the army should reach Agra before sunrise, when their troops, unseen by the eye of day, would abandon the King, and move over into the ranks of his rival

The rebels, proceeding on their march, reached Sikri, twelve kos from Agra, where Khowás Khan, who was celebrated for his piety, waited upon Sheikh Selím Chishtí, a holy man, who then resided at that place, and as it happened to be the eve of a great Muhammedan religious festival*, unwisely suffered himself to be so long delayed by attending the prayers and service employed on that occasion, that he did not reach the capital till breakfast time† next day, when the sun was high in the firmament

Alarm of
Islám at
their ap-
proach

Selím, when informed of his brother's approach, was in the utmost consternation, and addressing Kutb Khan and some other nobles, whom he knew or suspected to be engaged in this revolt, told them, that, even allowing that he had acted rashly in regard to Adel Khan, he thought he had a right to expect that Khowás Khan and Isa Khan would have written to him to remonstrate, before proceeding to such extremities. The Amírs, seeing his alarm, told him that even now it was not too late to avert the evil, and Kutb Khan offered his services to effect a reconciliation. Upon this, Selím Shah empowered Kutb Khan and the other Amírs who were in Adel Khan's interest, instantly to proceed to the camp to meet and negotiate with that prince. His motive for this measure, apparently so pregnant with danger, was to remove from his person men with whom he did not think himself safe, intending, as soon as they were gone, to

* The festival was the Sheb-e Berat † Chásht

set out for Chunár, where his father's treasures were kept,—to take possession of them,—to raise an army,—and then return to combat his brother whom, at the present moment, he was unable to meet in the field. From following this plan he was diverted by the remonstrances of another Isa Khan, the Mí-Háib, or Chief Chamberlain, who represented to him, that it was a most dangerous policy in a prince to resign his capital, and abandon his friends and the force of which he was in possession, that he might set out, with the purpose of throwing himself on the loyalty of others who were at a distance—that much depended on first impressions, that he had with him a firm and hardy band of two or three thousand chosen and attached followers, who had been in his service before he mounted the throne, besides many other troops*, that he should boldly march out with this force, and might rest secure that none who bore the name of Afghán, whatever might be his inward wishes, would dare to desert him in the plain and in the light of day.

Selím, abandoning his first intentions, was prevailed upon to follow this advice, recalled the Khans who had just left him, told them, that he was resolved not to trust such faithful friends in the hands of the enemy, and ordered the troops to march out, and form in the plain of Agra. The Afghán chiefs who had engaged to revolt to Adel Khan, when they saw Selím Shah lead them openly into the field, gave up their intention of deserting, and took their station in the line, so that Adel Khan's army, as it advanced, was opposed by the whole force in the capital. A battle ensued in sight of Agra, in which, in spite of the exertions of Khowás Khan, who was disappointed and disconcerted at finding the two great Khans, on whom he had reckoned as auxiliaries, ranged against him as enemies, the victory declared for Selím. Adel Khan fled from the field,

He moves
out to meet
them

* Ten thousand Firmulh Afghans

BOOK VI

A D 1545

Defeat,
flight, and
disappear-
ance of
Adel Khan

and escaped down the country to Tahía*, where he disappeared, and seems never to have been heard of more. Khowás Khan and Isa Khan Nízamí retreated to Mewát, where they for some time maintained themselves, and even defeated, at Firúzpur in that province, an army sent against them by the King. But, the royal army having been reinforced, the Khans were compelled to quit Mewát, and sought refuge with the native Rajas in the mountains of Kemáun. Selím sent Kntb Khan with a detachment in pursuit of them. He took post for some time on the skirt of the Kemáun hills, and plundered the hill-country, but did nothing effectual†.

Islám se-
cures his
father's
treasures
in Chunár,

Selím Shah, thus relieved from his danger, marched down to Chunár that he might secure the treasures of his father. Having by degrees clearly ascertained the truth and extent of the secret correspondence which had been carried on between the nobles in his own service and Khowás Khan before the battle, he determined on revenge. Jilál Khan Jilwání‡ was a chief of great power, and one of the four who had become security for Adel Khan's safety. He had entered into the conspiracy, but Selím, though aware of the fact, feared to attack him by open force. What he dared not attempt openly, he accomplished by stratagem. The camp having reached the town of Kóras, the King invited Jilál to play a match at ehougán, lured him from his quarters, and then seized both him and his brother Khodáydád. To avoid the odium of himself putting to death two Amírs of such distinction he gave them over into the custody of an Afghán, with whom

and pro-
cures the
death of the
hostile
chiefs

* Ferishta has Patna, the Tar Abk f 180, and Tar Bed f 154 have Tahia, probably rightly. The Nisubnama has Panna, which accords as to situation with Tahia. The difference is chiefly from the diacritical points

† Tar Nizami, f 219 and other authorities as above

‡ Or Jiláw

§ Some say, on his return from Chunár, the Nisubnama, on going thither

they had a blood-feud, by whom, under pretence of legal retaliation, they were slain. The treasures which the King removed from Chunár were conveyed to Guáhlár, which, probably as being nearer the capital, he resolved to make his stronghold. He himself returned to Agia.

Selím Shah now sought out, and pursued with unrelenting severity, all who had taken part with his brother, or who were suspected of being in his interest, "sweeping them off," says Bedáuni, "like men from a chess-board." Kutb Khan, who had been a principal in all the intrigues, alarmed at these proceedings and especially at the death of Jilál Khan Jilwání, fled from the low country of Kemáun, where he was in command of the army, and retired to the Penjáb. Haibat Khan Núzí, the governor of that great province, on whom the late King had bestowed the title of Azím Humáyun, received him courteously, but having been called upon by Selím to deliver him up, and the ascendancy of the royal arms being at this period too decided to admit of opposition, Kutb Khan was surrendered to the King, and along with Sháhábáz Khan Núzí, who had married the King's sister, and twelve other Amírs of note, was sent to Guáhlár, where most of them perished in prison.

All the dominions that had been conquered by Shír Shah were now in the possession of his son, and were for some time ruled by him in peace. His kingdom was of great extent, reaching from Pesháwer to the sea of Bengal, and from the Himaláya mountains to the confines of Gujíát. He was however jealous of some of his father's great Amírs, who administered the government in several of the more important provinces, with nearly despotic power. Shujaa Khan*, the governor of Malwa, was one of these. Since he had had the sole command in that kingdom, he had employed himself with much activity in reducing the numerous jágirdárs who possessed the chief part of the country,

Extent of
Islam's do-
minions

His jealousy
of the go-
vernors of
Malwa,

* Also often called Sazáwal Khan

BOOK VI

A D 1545

and of the
governor of
Multán

and had succeeded in establishing his ascendancy over the whole of it. His very success, however, had excited the suspicions of his jealous master, who summoned him to court. He obeyed the call, and having satisfied Islám of his fidelity, was allowed to resume his station.

Azím Humáyún, the governor of the rich and extensive provinces of the Penjáb, fell under similar suspicions, and was in like manner called to the presence. Unwilling to place himself in the power of a sovereign, in whose eyes his power and prosperity were crimes, he feigned various excuses, but sent in his place his brother Saíd Khan, a nobleman of great talent and bravery, who was well received by the King, and treated with every external distinction, and much apparent regard. Islám easily saw through the pretences alleged by the ambassador for his brother's conduct, and, by those who knew him best, was supposed to be only waiting for a convenient time to cut him off. One day the King took Saíd into the interior of the harem, where he pointed to a number of heads that were ranged on the wall, and asked him, as if casually, if he knew any of them. Some time before, Islám had given orders for blowing up by gunpowder a chamber in which were lodged many of the most distinguished prisoners in the fort of Guálúr *. Then ghastly heads were now ranged around, elevated on the points of spears. Saíd examined them without betraying any emotion, and mentioned the names of several whom he had known, the first men of the state. In their fate, however, he seemed to read his own.

Threatened
revolt in
the Penjáb

Having arranged his affairs at Agra, Islám now resolved to march by Chunár to Rhotas in Behár, to bring from these strong fortresses a farther portion of the

* We are told that among the persons blown up on this occasion was Kemál Gaker, the son of a Gáker chief, who escaped in a way so extraordinary that it was deemed miraculous, and the incident was re-

ported to the King for his instructions. He commanded his life to be spared, and at a future time sent him into the Penjáb to accompany the army employed against his countrymen the Gakers.

hoarded wealth of his father Saíd Khán, who foresaw that he could not long remain in the royal camp with safety, made his escape while the army was on this route, and having caused hoises to be posted all along the road, reached Láhúr This circumstance, joined to the delays of the viceroy of the Penjáb, and the news which at the same time reached Court that Khowás Khan was marching to meet Azím Humáyun, made the King suspect that a rebellion, supported by a confederacy of the leading nobles of the empire, was in agitation He, therefore, halted, measured back his way to Agra, and called upon Shujaa Khan to join him from Malwa with the forces of that province

As Agra and Delhi were now once more become the capital cities of the Afgháns in India, Islám, before leaving Agra, employed his troops in surrounding it with a wall Here having been joined by Shujaa Khan with troops from Malwa, he sent back that nobleman, after conferring with him, and soon after proceeded towards Delhi with all the forces that he could collect There he remained for some time, awaiting the arrival of the more distant forces The interval of leisure thus afforded he employed in surrounding with a strong wall of stone and lime the new town of Humáyun, which that Emperor had enclosed with one of stone and clay Islám caused many new edifices to be built hard by, on the banks of the Jamna, and on them and the space which he had enclosed, bestowed the name of Selíngarh, which now forms, says Kháfi Khan, the southern suburb of Delhi * The name given to it, of Selíngarh, would seem to show, that Islám did not disdain to use the appellation by which he was vulgarly called

New works
at Agra
and Delhi.

Islám now advanced towards the Penjáb, while, on the other side, Azím Humáyun, Khowás Khan and Isa Khan with their united forces, amounting, it is said, to

The armies
of Hindustán
and the
Penjáb meet
at Ambála

* Tar Niz f 219, Tab Akb f 180, Tar Bed f 155, Ferishta, vol. II p 132, Kháfi Khan

BOOK VI.

A. D. 1546

A. H. 953.

more than double the royal army, marched to encounter him. The two armies came in sight of each other near the town of Ambála, south-east of Sirhend. Selím, on coming near the hostile army, ascended a rising ground with some of his Amírs, to reconnoitre the array of the enemy. Having for a while surveyed them, he suddenly turned round, exclaimed that it would ill become his dignity to encamp in sight of rebels, and ordered his troops to be instantly formed in battle order, and to advance to the attack.

Defeat of
the rebels

It so happened that, the very night before, a misunderstanding had arisen between the two principal leaders of the malcontents, on a subject of fundamental consequence. Khowás Khan, who had been brought up and elevated to high rank in the very household of Shír Shah, retained his attachment to his patron's family, and insisted that the royal dignity should be kept in that line, and conferred upon Adel Khan, his eldest son, under whose banner they should fight, and whom they should spare no exertion to find out, and to place on his throne. Azím Humáyun on the other hand, with the independent spirit of an Afghán and the ambition of an adventurer, quoting some well-known lines of a Persian poet, insisted that there was no hereditary descent in sovereignty, which followed the longest sword. This ill timed dispute was still unadjusted, when the army of the King appeared in sight. Khowás Khan, in disgust, refused to lend his aid to minister to the pretension of Azím Humáyun, and, with his friend Isa Khan, withdrew his forces from the field. Such a movement, at such a time, was decisive of the fate of the battle and of the campaign. The victory, however, was not bloodless. In spite of the defection of so great a part of the confederate force, the onset of Islám's troops was valiantly opposed by the army of the viceroy of Láhúr, the strength of which consisted in the Níázis of his own tribe. Numbers of them were, however,

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Fate of
Khowás
Khan.

repaired to Guálíár, where he was fond of residing, and which he in some measure made his capital *

When, at the battle of Ambála, Khowás Khan and Isa Khan separated from Azím Humáyun and the army of the Nízis, the latter retired to the mountains, while the former, attended by five or six thousand men, hastened to attack the city of Láhúr, hoping to make himself master of it during the general confusion. But, hearing that he was closely pursued, he crossed the Rávi, and at the village of Miáni was overtaken by Yahía Salwá who had been sent after him. Khowás Khan, though at the time suffering from the effects of a recent wound, left his litter, and mounting on horseback, engaged and repelled the enemy, after which he continued his route. Escaping by the foot of the Sewálk mountains, he remained among them for some time. At length Islám Shah wrote to Táj Khan Keráni, the governor of Sambhal, enjoining him to draw Khowás Khan by any means from his retreat. On the invitation of Táj Khan, who owed him his preferment, he left his mountain retreat, and came down to Sambhal. But Táj Khan, forgetful of what he owed the illustrious refugee and anxious to secure the royal favour, treacherously put his benefactor to death, and having cut off his head, sent it as an offering to Islám Shah, who was then at Bín in the Panjáb. Khowás Khan was one of the most distinguished men of his time. His liberality, especially to religious men, was unbounded. Abulfazl represents his character, as he does that of all connected with the Súr dynasty, in an unfavourable light. "He was," says that writer, "originally one of the slaves of Shír Khan, and by downright fraud and cunning, by seizing the property of the learned and good and bestowing it on the ignorant and low-minded, gained a certain degree of credit among the lower classes of his own country-

* Tar Nízami, f. 220, Tab. Ferishta, vol. II pp. 133, 134, Khol Akb. 181, Tar Bed. ff. 155, 156, ul Towárikh, f. 281.

men" "His corpse was conveyed to Delhi," says Ferishta*, "where it was interred and such is the veneration in which the name of Khawas Khan is held, even at the present day, that his tomb is frequented by devotees and the common people, considering him as a saint, go there to offer prayers for the success of their undertakings."† "And to this day," says a still later author, "his name is celebrated in Hindustan in poetry and song."‡

While Selim resided at Gualior, an incident occurred which had nearly shaken his throne. It must have been visible in the progress of the narrative that the Sur dynasty of Shir Shah was entirely military. It was supported solely by the Afghans, a rough and uncivilized people, who cherished strong notions of independence and equality, and who, if they could not be called republicans in their principles were at least led by a number of their own hereditary chiefs, a sort of native oligarchy, all of whom regarded the grand officers of the empire with some jealousy as placed above them only by accident. The greater chiefs regarded the sovereign himself with much the same eye. They had been the equals of Shih Khan his father, and it was by their exertions that he sat on the throne. The governors of provinces, though nominally servants of the crown, and removable at will, were often in reality so powerful, each in his own government, that they considered themselves as individually holding their power by much the same right as the king held his throne. They were in fact, in general, removable only by assassination or by war. Shujaa Khan, as we have seen had reduced nearly the whole of the former kingdom of Malwa under his authority. He maintained the pomp and parade of a prince, like the other governors of the

Power of
the Afghan
nobles
under the
Sur Dy-
nasty

Shujaa
Khan of
Malwa
A. H. 914

* Akbarnama f 91

† Khol ul Towarikh f 276

† Ferishta, vol ii, p 137

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A D 1547

Attempt on
his life by
an Afghán

more extensive provinces, and, like some of them, was suspected by Selím of aiming at independent power. The viceroy of the Penjáb being now humbled, Shujaa was now become the greatest subject of the empire

It happened one day that an Afghán, of the name of Othman*, came intoxicated into Shujaa's hall of audience, and as his countrymen are noted in India for their rude and unpolished manners, began to spit about him on the cushions and carpets. The servants remonstrated with him, but in vain, and on their insisting that he should leave the presence-chamber, he struck one of them a blow on the face. Shujaa Khan, informed of this outrage, ordered the offender's hands to be cut off. Othman, thus mutilated, repaired to Selím Shah at Guáhar, and, having gained access to him, demanded justice upon his Majesty's lieutenant, who had treated him thus cruelly. Selím, whether merely to get rid of the man's importunity, or with any more remote object, answered, "What, are not you too an Afghán? Go, and take your revenge." This expression was repeated to Shujaa, who only remarked, that it was a very idle way of talking. And though one of his servants told him that he had seen Othman sitting in a cutler's shop, whetting his knife, and using threatening expressions, still he took no precautions.

Some time afterwards Shujaa Khan, having gone to Guáliá to wait upon the King, in passing through the streets of the town on his way to the royal derbár, saw Othman, who had long been watching his opportunity, sitting in a shop, wrapped up in an old mantle. Shujaa made his palankeen stop, and desired some assistance to be given to the wretched man, whose face he recollected Othman, seizing the favourable moment, approached him, and with the blade of a short sword which he had

* Ferishta calls him Othman designate him as Othman merdi, one Khan, probably erroneously others Othman

fastened to the stump of his mutilated arm, and concealed under his cloak, attacked Shujaa, and inflicted a wound on his side. The viceroy's followers, rushing on the assassin, put him to death *. This occurrence, connected with the known jealousy of Selím Shah and the expression he had let fall, naturally alarmed Shujaa Khan, who, though he afterwards appeared at court and received rich presents, took the earliest opportunity that offered to withdraw from Guálár with all his followers, without taking leave, and retreated hurriedly to Malwa. Selím, offended at this act of insubordination, as well as by his slighting expressions, sent a strong detachment to pursue, and bring him back, and soon after himself marched into Malwa with the rest of his army, that he might seize Shujaa, "although," says Nizám-ed-dín, "that nobleman was one of thirty-five† persons who were personally engaged in placing his father, Shír Shah, on the throne." When Selím had advanced as far as Mándu, Shujaa Khan fled to Bhánswára, on the borders of Gujrát, declaring that he would never draw his sword against the son of his old master. All opposition being thus at an end, Islám Shah placed Isa Khan Súr in the government of Malwa, leaving him at Ujein with twenty thousand horse‡, and returned to Guálár. Soon afterwards, however, when Islám was compelled once more to return to the Penjáb, Shujaa Khan, from what motives we are not informed, but probably from his tried talents and the difficulty of governing Malwa without his aid, was restored to the government of that kingdom, which he, and his son after him, enjoyed for many years §.

His quarrel
with Islám,

who in-
vades Mal-
wa.

Flight and
restoration
of Shujaa
Khan.

While Islám Shah was thus successful in Malwa, his

A H 954,
or 955

* Some accounts say that the assassin made his escape

† Ferishta says, thirty-six

‡ Bedauni, 30,000

§ Tab Akb f 463, Tar Niz f 220, Ferishta, vol. iv pp 273, 274 and ii p 134, Tar Bed f 156

BOOK VI

A D 1547

Temporary
success and
final defeat
of Azim
Humáyun
in the
Penjáb

Disgraceful
conduct of
Islám after
the victory

arms suffered a reverse in the Penjáb * Azim Humáyun, who had so long governed that country, though expelled, had still a strong influence within it, and was attended beyond the Jelem by a considerable body of brave and determined adherents Having collected his force, Azim Humáyun attacked near Dinkót, and defeated, Khwája Veis Sirwáni, the general whom Islám had left to keep him in check, and, pursuing his advantage, extended his inroads as far as Sirhend His predatory troops spread themselves all over the Penjáb, carrying off not only the cattle, but the inhabitants, and throwing the whole country into confusion To redress this evil, Islám lost no time in sending a large army to the assistance of his general, who compelled the rebels to retreat once more towards Dinkót A general action was soon after fought at Sambala near that place, in which Azim Humáyun, who had now an army of twenty thousand horse, was totally defeated, and numbers of Niázi women, falling into the hands of the conquerors, were sent to Islám Shah That monarch's treatment of them is disgraceful to his character The helpless females were sent to Guálhár, and there given up to be dishonoured He also exhibited a scurrilous pageantry in his camp Selecting from the rabble some wretches whom he called by the names of Azim Humáyun, Saíd Khan, Sháhbáz Khan and others, he dressed them up in tawdry finery, and bestowed on them lofty titles, made the vilest creatures in the camp carry pompously before them the standards, regal umbrella and other symbols of royalty and state, that had fallen into his hands in the late battle, and paraded them with insulting mockery The bands of music performed before their doors at the usual stated times, the most noted blackguards in the bazar being selected for the duty These marks of contempt shown to men of rank and family, with the dishonour of the Niázi ladies, were much felt

* "In 954 or 955," says Bedauni, f 157, "God knows which"

CHAP. II

and resented by the Afghians in general, most of whom are in some way connected together, and who, at all events, have a profound respect for the honour of their tribes.*

After this defeat the Nâzirs, unable to keep their ground at Dinkôt, fled for protection among the Gakars beyond the Salt Range and also spread among the hills on the outskirts of Kashmir. Islam, sensible that, to ensure the tranquillity of his other dominions, it was necessary to extinguish the embers of rebellion in the Punjab, and especially to crush the power of the Nâziri chiefs, marched into that country at the head of a powerful army. He advanced as far as Rhotas the completion of which he urged forward with much earnestness, and used every effort to reduce the Gakars, who were at once proud of their independence and attached to the family of Baber. The building of Rhotas was a work of immense toil and difficulty. The Gakars did everything in their power to impede the progress of a fort which was placed chiefly as a check upon them. Islam Shah employed one portion of his troops in building the fortifications on a magnificent scale, and the other portion of them not so employed were sent against the Gakars, who kept them busy with daily combats. By day the Gakars met them hand to hand in fight, and at night crept like banditti round the camp, and by sudden attacks where least expected, carried off men and women, bond and free, all of whom they kept in shameful captivity, and sold as slaves indiscriminately. For two years, while the works were going on, Islam kept his Afghians employed with stone and mortar, or in constant skirmishing, and all the time kept back their pay. Their hatred to him became extreme, and vented itself in reproaches and abuse, for such was their terror of him, and the ascendancy that he had

Headquarters
to Rhotas

A. D. 975
A. D. 1519

Contests
with the
Gakars

Discontents
in his
camp

* Ut supra. Some make this ill-judged pageantry occur after the first defeat.

BOOK VI

A D 1548

acquired over their minds, that none dared to remonstrate. At length Shah Muhammed Firmuli, a nobleman whose wit and humour sometimes enabled him to tell bold truths, informed the King that, the night before, he had had a singular dream. "My King," said he, "methought I saw three bags fall from the sky, one was filled with earth, one with gold, and one with paper. The earth fell on the soldiers, the gold on the Hindu clerks of office, the paper on the royal treasury." Islám Shah, who saw at once the tendency of the fable, was diverted, and promised that as soon as he returned to Guáhlár he would make the accountants write out the bills for the two years' arrears, and pay the amount. "It so happened," says the historian, "that this never was performed, as he was carried off before it was effected."*

He makes
peace
with the
Gakers on
their ex-
pelling the
Niázis,

who retreat
towards
Kashmír,

But, brave as was the defence of the Gakers in their wild country, and successful as they were, sheltered by their glens, ravines and jungles, in repelling the attacks of the royal army, they at length clearly saw that they could expect no quiet while they continued to shelter Azím Humáyun or his followers. Sultan Adam having sued for peace, it was granted on condition that Azím Humáyun and his followers should leave the country. This being agreed to, the Niázis, now more distressed than ever, determined to attempt Kashmír. They seem to have been invited by a party, who offered them the government, it is said, with treacherous views. At all events, Islám Shah put the mountain tribes of Kashmír on their guard, and urged them to avert the approaching danger. Misled, it is said, by their guides, though no such treachery is necessary to account for what followed, the Niázis entered the passes of that mountainous region, and soon found themselves cut off from all retreat or advance. The precipices above were occupied by armed men. In vain did the Niázis

do all that courage could effect, the very women, among whom were the mother and wife of Azim Humayun, arming themselves to defend their honour. A shower of stones from hands unseen poured down upon them, and not an individual escaped. In this desile Azim Humayun and his brothers Saïd Khan and Shahbaz Khan, the King's brother-in-law, were slain, and their heads cut off and sent to Islâm Shah *

CHAP II

and are exterminated in the desile

While Islâm's forces were engaged against the Gakars and the tribe of Jenpûm, who occupied the strong country on the banks of the Jelum, not content with the works still carried on at Rhotas, he began to construct another fort at Manghar or Mankôt, on the farthest outskirts of the Swahk mountains. It was on a most extensive scale, and was composed of four or five forts, on as many eminences, but all connected together. Abulfazl says that Islâm Shah founded it in consequence of some bad omen that had affected his imagination, and as a place of refuge against the impending evil. It was while encamped at Rûn, superintending the building of this fort, that he made a narrow escape from being assassinated. As he was ascending a confined pass on his way to the fort, a man, who had concealed himself, rushed upon him with a naked sword, and aimed a blow which Islâm skilfully warded off with the end of his whip, which, however, being cut through, his face was somewhat wounded. When the assassin was raising his arm for a second stroke, the King, who was a powerful man and versed in athletic exercises, leaping from his horse and clasping the assassin's arms, called upon some Amirs who had galloped up to his aid, to put the man to death. "Let us inquire," they said, "who instigated him to such a deed?" "No," said Islâm Shah, "the wretch may be

Islâm builds Mankôt.

His narrow escape from assassination

* Tar Niz f 221, Akbernama, were unjustly accused of treachery f 91, Tar Bed f 158, Khol ul The catastrophe was a natural one, Tow f 282, Icrishia II p 135 where the natives were prepared One may suspect that the guides

BOOK VI

A D 1548

the ruin of many houses Put him instantly to death " This act of generosity does not appear to be much in unison with Islám's habitual conduct He observed, however, that the villain's sword was one which he had himself presented to Ekbál Khan, a man whom he had raised from the lowest rank, had elevated to situations of dignity in his court, and honoured with his particular favour Islám now deprived him of his rank, and restored him to his original meanness But though the Afghán Amírs, by whom he was detested, urged the King to put him to death, Islám Shah refused, saying that, however much he was ashamed of the patronage which he had afforded to one so unworthy, he would not utterly destroy what he had once cherished *

Kámran
visits his
camp
A D 1549,
A D 1552

Having settled the Penjáb and strengthened his frontier, Islám, who had now been two years beyond the Satlej, set out on his march back to Delhi It was at this time that Kámran Mírza, who, driven from Kábul, and afterwards from the Afghán country, had come to his camp some time before, disappointed in his expectations of succour, made his escape, and fled first to the Scwálik† mountains and afterwards to the Gakers Islám continued his march, and had arrived at Delhi, when news were brought that the Emperor Humáyun had reached the Indus with an army, on his way to invade Hindustán The King was then ill, and, at the moment, had a number of leeches on his neck He instantly shook them off, and without even washing away the blood, tied a handkerchief round his neck, ordered his horse, mounted, and the same day was encamped three kos from the town The troops, who

Advance of
Humáyun

* Tar Niz f 220 , Tar Bed him This supposes Hímu to have already attained considerable rank, f 168

† Kámran, as he approached Islám's camp, was received by Hímu and he is accordingly said to have been in high favour Tar Bed f Bálal, who was sent out to meet 158

had already suffered so much from want, were driven distracted by this new movement so that some of his Munsters ventured to represent to him that, as a powerful enemy was marching to meet him, and the troops were in distress and murmuring, it would be a gracions act and befitting his royal dignity, to discharge their arrears of pay. Islam told them in reply that if he paid the troops at that time, they would ascribe the concession to his necessities and to compulsion, and would act upon that supposition on future occasions, but he assured them that, after he had returned victorious from this campaign, he would order the whole arrears of the last two years to be paid all in one sum. The soldiers, stifling their feelings and seeing no remedy, repined to the camp. The draught-bullocks, employed for moving the cannon had all been sent to pasture at great distances. Determined that no time should be lost the king commanded the foot-soldiers to drag them along, which they did for several days, some of the larger guns requiring each one or two thousand men to move them. Without loss of time he thus reached the Punjab. Humayun, having scened his brother Kunran and failed in an attempt to reach Kashmir, aware of Islam's approach, returned to Kibul. Upon which Islam, worn out with sickness and disease, retraced his steps from Lahm, and soon after repined to Guahar.

His retreat
to Kabul

It was during this and his former residence at Lahm that Islm Shih, following up in some measure his father's ideas, is said to have seriously meditated the destruction of that capital. It was a large and flourishing city, the centre of a rich trade, and amply furnished with every useful and costly production of the times. It had a numerous and warlike population, and large manufactories of arms, offensive and defensive, of mili-

Meditated
destruction
of Jshur,
and removal
of the
capital to
Mankot.

BOOK VI

A.D. 1552

tary accoutrements, and of every warlike store. If recovered and occupied by the exiled family, or by any invaders from the North, it would become, he imagined, a most convenient station, both for arming their troops, and for invading India. His plan was to have razed this noble town from the foundation, and to have removed the capital of the Penjáb to Mankót, which was more remote from the country of the Afgháns, and from the desert along the left bank of the Indus, while, from its position in the Siálkot range, it was less liable to invasion, and more capable of defence. But this truly oriental plan, so pregnant with misery and ruin to thousands of his subjects, was never carried into effect.

Mutual sus-
picions of
Islám and
his nobles.

Sháh Shah, during his short reign, had placed his kingdom in so formidable a position, that the reign of his successor was disturbed by no foreign invasion, but it was troubled, first by civil wars, and afterwards by repeated conspiracies. Whether these were owing to the jealous temper of Islám, or were a consequence of the insubordinate and independent habits of his Afghán nobles, is not very clear, in the scanty and unsatisfactory accounts that have been transmitted to us of the history of his reign. But it would rather appear that Islám, fretted by finding them constantly in his way, when he wished to rule as an absolute prince, attempted systematically to weed out the more powerful Afghán chiefs*, without being sufficiently aware that, while he got free of a temporary annoyance, he was destroying the real strength of his dynasty and race. We have seen that attempts upon his life, probably produced by this severity, were made at different times, though they failed. Even in his favourite retreat of Guáhr, to

* Bedaun tells us that his suspicions of the designs of the Afghán chiefs had produced in his mind the most inveterate hatred, that he

mixed opium in his drink, eat serpents and drank poison, probably as antidotes while he thirsted for the blood of his Afghán subjects, f 169

which he retired as a place of security from these attempts, he was not safe from the assassin's arm. One day while he was out hunting at Anteri in that neighbourhood, a band of men, instigated by persons of note, lay in wait, for the purpose of putting him to death as he returned. It so happened that he came back by a different road from that which he was accustomed to take, and thus the plot failed. But the king was soon informed of what had passed, and put to death those who were convicted as the leaders of the conspiracy, or supposed to be so. But he did not stop there, and it is alleged that there was hardly any Amír distinguished for power or influence, on whom his suspicions did not fall, and whom he did not put to death, or imprison.*

The latter part of the life of Islám Shah was rendered wretched by bad health and bodily suffering. His disease, whether a fistula or piles, was attended with tumours all over his loins, occasioned much pain, and baffled the efforts of his physicians. These and other bodily infirmities brought him to the grave, after a reign of between eight and nine years †.

Death of
Islám Shah

A H 960
A D. 1553

His character, as given by historians, is not exactly what one would expect from the public transactions of his reign. All allow that, in person, he was handsome, and that his bodily strength, which was naturally great, had been cultivated by constant activity and exercise. He is said to have had a competent degree of learning, and to have treasured up in his memory the chief works of some of the best Persian poets. He was intelligent, acute, fond of the society of learned men and of pious

His cha-
racter

* Tar Niz f 222

† Abulfazl makes him die 22 Zikâdah, A H 960 (Oct 30, A D 1553), after a reign of eight years two months and eight days, the Nisâbnâma, 26, Zihajeh (Dec 3rd), after a reign of eight years nine months and seven days, the

Tarikh-e Nizâmî gives him nine years, and is followed by Ferishta, Tab Akb f 182, Tar Nizami, f 221, Akbernâma, f 91, Khol ul Towârikh, pp 279—284, Ferishta, vol II pp 134—138, Nisâbnâma, f 114

BOOK VI
A.D. 1553

divines, and remarkable for his skill in extempore poetical composition, as well as for his wit and ready repartee. He always maintained a powerful army, abundantly supplied with horses, elephants, artillery and stores, and subjected it to strict discipline. "Though he vexed his soldiers extremely," says Abulfazl, "yet he conducted himself with justice to his other subjects"*. "He adopted," says another writer, "the same principles of justice and policy as his able father: the strong were not permitted to oppress the weak. His internal administration was excellent. The Kanúngoos, who keep the revenue accounts of pergunas, he employed to watch over and report on the condition of the ryots, and the state of cultivation of the soil, on the crops, and the extent of offences and crime. Few princes on record," he adds, "in military skill, in policy, justice and good government, have ever equalled these two"†. He is represented as magnificent in his state, and as liberal in his donations to public works and to holy men. He preserved all lands granted for religious or charitable purposes inviolate. He kept up his father's seráis in their whole extent, and the distribution of food to travellers, and for that purpose carefully protected all the lands that had been given them. In addition, he ordered a serái to be built between each two of his father's, adding a mosque, a reader, a well, and a water-carrier to each. He also gave the post-houses so many additional horses as to enable them to convey intelligence with increased speed from place to place over every portion of his extensive empire‡.

The great objects of his reign seem to have been to establish himself on the throne to the prejudice of his elder brother, and, after that was accomplished, to reduce the power of the great nobles, who almost over-

* Akbarnama, f 91

† Khol ul Fow f 284

‡ Tar Niz f 221, Akbarnama,

f 91, Ferishta, vol 11 p 130, Kháfí

Khan, ff 59—61, Nisábnama e

Afghánán, f 111

shadowed the throne. His father, adopting a different policy from his, turned the power and talents of his nobles to account, and preserved their affection and his own superiority, by the ascendancy of his talents.

Islâm, before he mounted the throne, had conducted many military expeditions, and, if we may judge from the success of all his measures after he became king, though unfeeling and cruel he must have been a prince of no ordinary sagacity and talent.

Indeed even Abulfizl though, in writing the life of the two first monarchs of the Sur dynasty, he loads them with reproaches and speaks of them with aversion and contempt is compelled, in a later part of his work, when writing the history of Mobarez or Muhammed Shah Adel to do them more justice. "From the time that Mobarez Khan came to the throne," says he, "the affairs of Hindustan went backwards, for, in truth the father and son, his predecessors, were men of talent, and skilful in the administration of affairs. Alas! that they should have spent their lives in ingratitude and rebellion. Had these two persons been servants of the imperial family, the one might have shone at the court, the other in charge of the frontier, to the benefit of their lawful sovereign as well as to their own happiness. The direction of the council might have been entrusted to the father, the protection of the frontier to the son. At all events, loaded with the favour of their lord, in return for faithful service, they would have enjoyed that life which the truly wise regard as life indeed. Such servants would have deserved such a master. But even the enjoyment of supreme power founded on ingratitude, men of superior intellect hold as worse than death. The Great Being that regulates the world soon scatters it abroad."* The doctrine of legitimacy is here applied with some boldness. The Tughlaks had been only five years masters of Delhi when Humayun mounted

BOOK VI

A D 1553

the throne, which, for a long course of years preceding, had been in the possession of the Afgháns. But such is the spirit of adulation. The family which happens to fill the throne when the author writes holds it by divine appointment, and all opposition to them, at whatever previous time, is treated as revolt, contumacy, or rebellion.

Islám Shah made an attempt to settle all the affairs of his kingdom on a regular systematic plan*. He endeavoured to concentrate all power in his own person. "He deprived the Amírs of all their war elephants," says Abdal Káder, "leaving them perhaps only a bad female one for carriage." His tents and the screens enclosing them were of a red colour. He appropriated to himself the whole revenues of his kingdom instead of scattering them by assignments, and paid his soldiers wholly in money, instead of keeping up the practice of the *daqh*, or giving them horses furnished by government and branded with a stamp to distinguish them, a mode which Shír Shah had employed. Reports came in to him regularly from every part of his territories, and in return, he wrote mandates concerning every matter and thing, whether relating to religion, civil government or revenue, descending to the minutest details in all that concerned the army or cultivators, tribesmen or merchants. To these mandates, whether agreeable to the law or not, it was necessary to conform in their minutest particulars. No reference to Kázi or Mufti was allowed.

Early in his reign, he stationed large bodies of troops, consisting generally of five thousand horse each, in different parts of his dominions. He seems to have kept up something like a standing army, which his plan of bringing all revenue directly into the public treasury must have assisted him in doing. He was anxious to keep the dread of his power unceasingly before his great

tained great distinction, himself undertook the office of training aspirants in the road of spiritual knowledge in the city of Biána. On his death, he was succeeded in his saintly influence by his son Sheikh Alái, a man of great attainments in learning and in the knowledge of spiritual things, who continued to draw many followers around him, and sustained the reputation of the school.

It so happened that Sheikh Abdalla Nízí, an Afghán, and also favourite scholar of Sheikh Selím Chishti, having returned from the pilgrimage of Mekka, came and settled in Biána. In the course of his travels, which had extended into Arabia, Persia, Khorásán and Transoxiana, he had imbibed the opinions of the sect of Mehdevis*, which at that period appear to have been extensively diffused. Sheikh Alái, who met him, was delighted with his manners and conversation, and gradually adopted, in their full extent, the new doctrines, which in many respects agree with those of the Sufis, renouncing those of his father and former religious teachers.

The founder of this sect, which added another to the many that have divided the Musulmans, was Syed Muhammed, a native of Juánpúr, born about A H 847, but whose religious mission extended from 887 to 910, when he died at Farra in Khorásán†. He professed to be the Mehdi, the Comforter or Paraclete, promised alike by the Christian and Muhammedan religions, and his followers pretended that the truth of his mission was proved by numerous miracles. The leading articles of their faith were, that he was indeed the promised Mehdi, whom it was necessary to love and follow, all who did not being infidels, that his inspiration, like that

* This sect extended into the Dekhan Ismael Nízám Shah of Ahmednagar was led by his Minister Jemál Khan to join it. Ferishta, vol iii p 277. This was in Ferishta's own time. The progress

of the sect even gave rise to a kind of religious war. Ibid pp 277, 278.

† A H 910, Zikádeh, 19 (A D 1505, April 23.)

of Moses, was derived directly from God, without the intermediate agency of angels, that the Mehdi and Muhammed were equal in authority, and that none of the Hadis, or traditional sayings of Muhammed, were true, unless confirmed by the Koran or by the Mehdi, to whom alone was committed the task of admitting souls into bliss, or consigning them to misery. The mission of Muhammed and of the Mehdi were for purposes quite distinct from each other, that of the former being to preach the laws of faith, that of the latter, the commands and rules for the practice of good works. The Koran revealed to Muhammed was to be explained by the Mehdi. He taught that it was possible to see God even in this world—by a total oblivion of self in holy meditation, followed, in the progress of pious abstraction, by a moral or spiritual death. In this progress towards the Divine or Beatific vision they marked out several stages, in the last of which the successful devotee, losing his identity, became united with the Deity. In the course of this progress, he ceased reading the Koran, which, with every other study, became superfluous as the mystic vision advanced, he passed or raised the seventy thousand veils that obscure the view of things as they really exist, was blest with the sight of heaven and of hell—of the souls of the just and of the prophets, before being absorbed into the being of God. Such were their chief articles of faith. Those relating to works flow naturally from them. As they held that worldly wealth or possessions were the root of all evil, and that attachment to wives, children, relations, or any thing earthly, by diverting the mind from things divine, produced infidelity and led to hell, the chief of their practical doctrines were the renunciation of all the world and its gifts, houses, land, women, children, silver and gold, when persecuted, the only alternative offered, was to desert their country or to have recourse to arms. Their conversation was to

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be only with the virtuous they were as they advanced to quit all society, the better to enjoy uninterrupted meditation on God, thereby in the end to attain the longed-for vision. they were to fight for the Word of God, either with the sword of poverty or of prayer, or with that of war To kill an infidel they deemed no crime, and they might lawfully take ample license in retaliation, or revenge, of such as molested their sect. Such as had only begun their heavenly course were enjoined to read the Koran, and to observe the five stated times of prayer The more advanced seem to have been exempted from all external observances *

Sheikh Abdalla, on his return from the Hejáz, following out the precepts of his new faith, had taken up his residence in a garden near Biána at the Mhár Tank, a neighbourhood frequented by persons of the lowest class, and was accustomed himself to repair to it, to draw water, and carry it away on his head with unaffected humility When prayer time came, he collected a number of individuals of the lowest class, water-drawers, carriers of wood and grass-cutters, who lived around Them he instructed with the honest zeal of a missionary, and with the eloquence and knowledge of a man of letters His preaching was successful, and his patience and unremitting fervour brought in many to his fold

Sheikh Alái, who was struck with the fervour and unction of his teaching soon became persuaded of the truth of his doctrines, confessed that this was indeed true religion, recommended it to his followers, renounced his own tenets, and having humbly joined the new sect, deserted his monastery, the rents attached to it and his dwelling, and invited his family to follow him to share his poverty and humble living, but offering, if they were unwilling to do this, to divide his property with

* See Colonel Miles's interesting Transactions of Literary Society of Account of Muhammed Mehdi, Bombay, vol II pp 281—294

them according to the law, and then let them go, in God's name. Having removed to the neighbourhood, and placed himself under the spiritual guidance of Sheikh Abdalla he continued his study of the new creed, conformed to the rules of the sect, and divided all he possessed among the poor. Many of his former disciples followed him and embraced the new doctrines. He daily, at the hours of morning and afternoon prayer, expounded the Holy Koran in presence of assembled multitudes with such persuasive eloquence, that his hearers, catching his enthusiasm inevitably became converts, and hundreds abandoning their wives and families their goods and possessions and all that tied them to the world renounced their sins and all evil courses, and ranged themselves among the disciples of the Mehdevis. All that they possessed they enjoyed in common, or if any, such as agriculturists or merchants, continued in their occupations they made a vow to devote a tenth of their income to charity and the service of God. In every thing they trusted to God. They used no cooking vessels, but when they received a handful of flour mixed it up, just as it was, with salt and water, and used it while it lasted. In some instances, where they happened to get nothing, they were known to fast for two or three days with perfect resignation, without venting a complaint or manifesting any indication of suffering. But in spite of their destitute condition, they always went armed, carrying a sword and shield or other arms, that they might repel their enemies. And, wherever they saw any person do what was contrary to their notions of right, they, in the first instance, mildly warned him to desist, but if he persisted, they proceeded to compel him by force and violence to alter his conduct. Such of the magistrates as had adopted the Mehdevi opinions gave their sanction to these proceedings, so that those

BOOK VI. of them who disapproved of this outrageous conduct, were unable to afford a remedy

Sheikh Abdalla, seeing to what lengths the unregulated zeal of Sheikh Alái was hurrying him, admonished and chid him gently, and suggested to him the propriety of making a pilgrimage to Mekka. Sheikh Alái, in deference to this advice of his spiritual guide, but without abating any thing of his usual proceedings, set out attended by a retinue of six or seven hundred followers*. In passing Khowáspúr, which lies in the Júdpúr territory, Khowás Khan, the celebrated Afghán chief, who was then stationed on that frontier, came out with an honorary procession to meet him, listened to his teaching, and became a convert to his opinions. But that nobleman, displeased with the violence of some of his acts and doctrines, and dreading the consequence of his principles on the troops, soon gave him up, and Alái, disconcerted by this defection, and influenced by various other circumstances, returned to Biána, just about the time when Islám Shah mounted the throne in Agra. The Sheikh was summoned to Court among other religious men of the time. But there, in defiance of the usage and etiquette of Courts, and following the levelling principles of his sect, instead of the usual salutation to the sovereign, he pronounced only the ordinary and familiar greeting to an equal†. This departure from rule was eagerly seized by the King's Ministers, who charged the obnoxious innovator at once with want of reverence to his Majesty, and with heresy. Múlla Abdalla Sultánpúrí, who at that time enjoyed the title of Makhdúm-al-mulk, after having various conferences with him, went so far as to issue a fetwa or opinion, declaring him guilty of a capital offence. Islám Shah ordered a trial to take place in

* Ferishta gives him 370, the Tabakát, 700 or 800, the Nisab-Taríkh-e Nizámi, 600 or 700, the náma, 900

† Alik-is-salám

whose fetwa he professed that he would be guided, and himself set out for the Penjáb.

Sheikh Badeh, to whom Alái was thus committed, had been much followed as a religious guide by Shír Shah, the king's father, who held him in such reverence that he was accustomed, when the holy man was going out, to place the shoes before his feet. Sheikh Badeh long and deeply versed in the theology of his age and religion, entirely coincided in opinion with Makhdúm-al-mulk, and to that effect wrote his fetwa or decree, which was forthwith forwarded by express to Islám Shah, who commanded the personal attendance of the prisoner. At this period Sheikh Alái was seized with a pestilential disease then raging. This malady was farther irritated by the fatigue of his long journey to the Penjáb, so that, when he reached the presence of the King, he was unable to speak. Islám Shah, still desirous to save him, standing by his side, gently addressed him. "Only whisper in my ear," said the prince, "the promised Mehdi is not come, and be free." Sheikh Alái, absorbed in a meditative trance, did not heed his words, and Islám, driven to extremity by his unrelenting divines, commanded him to be scourged. At the third stroke of the lash, says the historian, he resigned his soul to his Creator. Islám Shah directed that his body should be interred in the tomb of his forefathers *

* The account of this transaction is taken from the *Tabak Akberi*, f 182, *Tar Nizami*, ff 221—223, *Ferishta*, vol II pp 138—141. See also the *Tarikh-e Bedáuni*, ff 161—163. The author Abdál Kader, then very young, was carried by his father to see Alái when he

passed Besáwer, on his route to Mekka. See also the *Nisáb-náma-e Afghánan*, ff 111—114. Some authors place Alai's death in A H 955, *Bedáuni*, with more probability, in A H 957, *Tar Bed* f 167.

CHAPTER III

SULTAN FIRUZ SHAH SUR, OFTEN CALLED THE SHAH-ZADA
FIRUZ KHAN

ACCESSION AND MURDER OF FIRUZ SHAH — ACCOUNT OF HIS UNCLE
AND MURDERER, MOBÁREZ KHAN

ON the death of Islám, or Selim, Shah, the Afghán chiefs who were with him at Gualán acknowledged his son Firúz Khan, then only twelve years of age, as their sovereign, and placed him on the throne. Com was struck, and the prayer for the reigning prince offered, in his name. But his reign was short. Mobárez Khan, his maternal uncle (the son of Nizám Khan Sur, Sháh Sháh's younger brother), hardened by a guilty ambition, on the third day after the death of his cousin Islám Shah, entered the private apartments of the palace, with the intention of putting to death the young King. Firuz's mother, Bibi Bai^e, was the sister of Mobárez Khan. On hearing that her brother was forcing his way into the harem attended by armed men, alarmed at the danger which threatened her son, she rushed out, and seizing the hem of his robe, with prayers and tears besought him to spare his sister's boy, offering to convey the youth to some far distant land where he would live as a private person, and never aspire to be king; or, if that was not allowed her, she prayed her brother at least to spare her son's life, though doomed to imprisonment, however severe. But

CHAP. III

A. D. 1553,
A. H. 960
Accession
of Firúz
Sháh

His murder.

* This lady is by different writers called Bibi Banu, Bibi Bu, and

Bibi Mahi, the last probably by mistake

BOOK VI.

A D 1553

Account of
his uncle
and mur-
derer Mo-
bárez Khan

This sad event was an unhappy consequence of the affectionate temper of the Queen Islám Shah, her late husband, who had formed the most unfavourable opinion of Mobárez Khan, and feared his attempts on the life of his son, had repeatedly resolved to put him to death, and was as often prevented only by her intervention and tears. After he had taken to his death-bed, the King again told Bibí Báí that she must choose between her brother and her son, that if she valued her son's life, she must suffer her brother to be taken out of the way, that there was no other security for the prince. But Bibí Báí, who thought Islám's suspicions unfounded, and that Mobárez was too much of a voluptuary, and too much devoted to idle amusement to be ambitious, finally prevailed upon her husband to spare the future murderer of their son.

Abul-fazl remarks that Nízám Khan Súr, the younger brother of Shír Shah, left one son and three daughters, and that this son, as well as the husbands of all the three daughters, attained the regal dignity. The son of Mobárez Khan now became king by his crime, one of the daughters had married the late King Islám Shah; another married Ahmed Khan Súr, the viceroy of the Penjáb, and the third, Ibráhím Khan Súr, both of whom, in their turns, we shall see proclaimed Kings of Delhi.*

* The authorities to be consulted for this short reign are the Tar Niz ff 222, 223, Akbernáma, f 91, Tar Bedáuni, f 170, Ferishta, vol II p 141, Khol. ul Tow f 284, Kháfí Khan, f 61

CHAPTER IV

SULTAN MUHAMMED SHAH ADEL SEE OFTEN CALLED ADEL

ACCESSION OF MOBÁREZ KHAN OR SULTAN MUHAMMED SHAH — HIS CHARACTER — DEATH OF SEANDEL KHAN THUMBAT AT THE DELHI PALACE — REVOLT AND DEFEAT OF TÁJ KHAN — CHARACTER OF THE MUGHALS — SEANDEL OF DISAFFECTION — REVOLT OF IBRAHIM KHAN IN BANA — HE TAKES DELHI AND AGRA AND ASSUMES THE SOVEREIGNTY — DISTRACTED STATE OF THE EMPIRE — REVOLT OF AHMED KHAN IN THE DELHI PALACE — OCCUPIED AT LALLA BY IBRAHIM KHAN, WHOM HE DEFEATS — OCCUPIES AGRA AND DELHI — DEFEATED IN THE BATTLE OF THE ARCHES — HUMANITY ENTERS THE TENT — HIS GENERAL IBRAHIM KHAN DEFEATS THE ARCHES ON THE BATTLE — HUMANITY DEFEATS AND KILLS AHMED KHAN — IBRAHIM KHAN TAKES THE FIELD — ADVANCE OF MUHAMMED SHAH'S FORCES UNDER HIM — WHO DEFEATS IBRAHIM, AND DEFEATS HIM IN BANA — REVOLT OF MUHAMMED KHAN IN BANA — DEFEAT OF HIM FROM BANA TOWARDS DELHI — FIGHT AND DEATH OF IBRAHIM KHAN — HIM JOINS MUHAMMED SHAH NEAR LALLA — DEFEATS AND DESTROYS THE ARMY OF BANA — HUMANITY AT DELHI — HIS DEATH — HIM SET AGAINST ARTH — HE OCCUPIES AGRA AND DELHI — IS DEFEATED, AND KILLED AT LALLA — SUBVERSION OF THE ARCHES DYNASTY — DEFEAT, AND DEATH OF MUHAMMED SHAH IN DELHI — HIS CHARACTER — HIS SON SHIR SHAH — REMARKS ON THE ARCHES DYNASTY IN INDIA — COMPETITORS FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AT THE TIME OF HUMANITY'S RESTORATION

AFTER this detestable murder, Mobárez Khan mounted the throne, with the consent of the nobles and vazirs who were on the spot, under the title of Sultan Muhammed Shah Adel, or the Just, an epithet which the common people changed into Adch, or, by a further corruption, into Andh, or "the Blind"

Sultan Muhammed possessed no qualities fitted to

CHAP IV

A.D. 1553,
A.D. 1560
Accession
of Mobárez
Khan or
Sultan Mu-
hammed
Shah
His charac-
ter

BOOK VI

A D 1553

make him a good king or a good man. He was grossly ignorant, and hated learning. He paid little attention to public affairs, spending the greater part of his time in the recesses of the harem, wholly given up to sensual indulgence and debauchery, varied only by the amusements of music and dancing. In music he is said to have acquired uncommon proficiency, and we hardly discover another commendable trait in his character. He was fond of low pleasures and of low companions who flattered him and confirmed him in his vices.

In his expenditure he was childishly profuse. Having heard tales of the magnificence and generosity of Sultan Muhammed Toghlak, he became ambitious of rivalling him, and several times threw open the doors of his treasury, when he bestowed largesses lavishly on the common people, in the vain hope of gaining their affection. With a similar object he made a practice, in going through the streets of a town, to shoot golden-headed arrows, and the person into whose house they fell or who found them, on bringing them back, was presented with the sum of five hundred tangas* in money. But these practices he did not long persist in.

On his accession he bestowed the office of *vasî* and lieutenant of the palace, with the chief management of affairs, on Shemshîr Khan, who had been a slave of Shîr Shah, and was the younger brother of the celebrated Khowâs Khan, Doulat Khan Nauhâm, a new convert and his protégé, was raised to rank, and got charge of the Nauhânis, and Hîmû Bakâl, a Hindu, was raised to offices of high trust, and soon became the Minister who exercised the most commanding authority.

Such appointments were not likely to conciliate the haughty Afghân chiefs who were near the throne, and thought themselves not much below it. Discontent spread on every side. Sultan Muhammed was hated,

* About 50*l*

and, what for a king was more dangerous, he was despised. The government had lost the vigorous hand that directed it during the two late reigns. The general discontent was attended by its natural concomitant, a spirit of insubordination, and a disposition to revolt began to show itself from the very first month of his reign, and spread extensively, more especially among the King's own nearest connections of the Sín family, inasmuch that, ere long, the kingdom was in reality broken down into a variety of different states. That discord which had always been the bane of the Afgháns in India reappeared in full operation.*

An incident which occurred in the palace soon after the accession of the Sultan to the throne marked the crisis of this spirit. Sultan Muhammed, who did not often appear in public, having one day held a public *derbâr* in the fort of Gualár, proceeded, in presence of his most distinguished nobles, to make a distribution of various *jágís*. Among the rest, the government of Kanauj, which was held by Sháh Muhammed Firmuli, a nobleman of an eminent Afghán family, was taken from him, and conferred on Símast Khan Sirpani, also an Afghan, but of inferior note†. Iskander Khan, Firmuli's son, a youth of handsome mien, but of a lofty and impatient temper, who, as well as his father, was present when this arrangement was announced, exclaimed, "What, are things come to such a pass, that our estate is to be given to a set of Sirpani dog-merchants?" at the same time audibly hinting something about the field of battle. His father, who was unwell, chid him for indulging in such language, and attempted to restrain his impetuosity, but in vain. Turning on his father, he asked him if he had forgotten that Shír Shah, intending to put him to death, had

Death of
Iskander
Khan
Firmuli in
the *Derbar*
A. H. 961,
A. D. 1554

* Tar. Niz. f. 223, Tab. Akb. f. 184. Far. Bed. f. 171, Akber-nama, f. 92.

† Kháfí Khan says, one who had made a trade of selling dogs, which does not seem probable.

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A. D. 1554

kept him in an iron cage, from which he had been released only at the intercession of Selím Shah? Did he not see that it was now once more the plan of the Súr family to bring ruin on them and their race? Was he blind, or was he so dastardly as tamely to submit to such contemptuous treatment? This violent conduct occasioned considerable confusion in the Derbár. Sirmast Khan, a tall and powerful man, approached Sekander in a conciliating manner, saying, "My son, why all these hard words?" at the same time laying his hand soothingly on the young man's shoulder, but intending to secure him and make him prisoner. Sekander, aware of his object, drew his dagger, and plunged it into the breast of Sirmast, who fell lifeless on the ground. The uproar and confusion upon this became extreme. Sekander, infuriated with passion, drew his sword and attacked those nobles near him who attempted to secure his person, killing some, and wounding others. The King, availing himself of the disorder that prevailed, made his escape into the harem, when the doors were barred behind him. He was followed by Sekander, who made an attempt to force his way in, but it was too late. Several Amírs, drawing their swords, prevented Sekander's escape, while he continued for some time to slash around him like a mad man. At last Ibráhím Khan Súr, who had married Adeli's sister, wounded him with his sword, and other Amírs rushing on, overpowered him and put him to death. Doulat Khan Nouhání, at the same time, with one blow of his sabre, slew Shah Muhammed Firnuhi, the unhappy and innocent father. The whole affair lasted upwards of half an hour.*

Revolt and
defeat of
Taj Khan

It is said that Taj Khan Kerání, the brother of that Suleimán Khan Kerání who afterwards ruled Bengal under the name of Ali Shah†, as he was coming out of

* Tab. Alb. f. 185, Tar. Niz. ff. 171, 172, Nis. Ghumana, f. 116

† Rather perhaps of Hazrat Ali, for he seems to have declined the name of king.

the fort of Guálhár that morning after having attended the levee, happened to meet Shah Muhammed Khan Firmulí, who was then on his way to the Derbár, and as they entered into conversation, told him, that affairs were going on so ill, and were managed by such contemptible agents, that he was resolved to return no more to the Court, but to set out and see what could be done elsewhere, and he invited Firmulí to go along with him and join him in the adventure. This Shah Muhammed declined, and went on to the fatal meeting—while Táý Khan, hearing in the course of the day what had occurred, made his escape from Guálhár the same evening, and took the road of Bengal with his followers. As soon as it was known that he had left the city, Adeli sent a strong force to pursue him, and himself followed soon after, and overtook the Khan at Chibra-Mow*, where he defeated him, but Táý Khan, effecting his escape, retreated to Chunár. As he marched through the country, he seized such of Adeli's collectors of the revenue as fell in his way, and took possession of all the public money and other property on which he could lay his hands, with an hundred elephants. He was soon joined by his brothers Imád, Suleimán and Khwája Elías, who held pergunas on the banks of the Ganges, and in Khowáspur-Tánda, and no longer concealed his views, but appeared in open rebellion †.

Meanwhile Adeli, who had moved from Guálhár to Chunár, advanced to chastise the Keránis. The two armies met on the opposite banks of the Ganges, and faced each other for some time, but without engaging. At last Hímú, who was now high in the King's confi-

* Chibra-Mow, which is not in the maps, is a town of the Dóab, Briggs reads eight, Dow, eighty miles from Agra. Another copy of Ferishta reads eighty miles from Agra, and sixty from Laknou, the Tab Akb f 185, has forty kos from

Agra, and thirty from Kanáu, which is probably correct. It is a dependency of Kanáu, and was the birthplace of the author of the Insha-e Medharam, Tar Bed ff 171, 172.

† As above

royal confidence, and was employed in many important transactions, in both the political and revenue departments. In the offices which he filled when so promoted, he is accused of bringing numbers to misery, while he pretended to be acting only from zeal for his master's service, though in truth he was busy all the while enriching himself from the property of the oppressed, and by his misdeeds was whetting the axe against his master and himself. His pains and assiduity as a spy and an informer, a set of men too dangerously encouraged by those in power, is said to have gained him the favour of the late king, Selím Shah, by whom, among other offices of trust, he was raised to that of Superintendent of Bazars*, which includes an extensive exercise of police duties.

When Sultan Muhammed Shah Adeli usurped the throne, being altogether ignorant of business, Hímú, who, from his office, had frequent access to him, by his address and insinuation, and by relieving him from the drudgery of business, contrived to become so useful, and to gain so complete an ascendancy over the king's mind, that he was soon elevated to the highest rank, became Prime Minister, and the whole duties of government gradually devolved upon him, Adeli, in reality, retaining only the name of king. Hímú placed and displaced officers, gave and resumed jágírs at pleasure, with absolute power. He got possession of the royal elephants, as well as of the treasures which had been accumulated by the last two kings, and he freely expended what they had collected. In this way, it is affirmed, he gained for himself a number of low and sordid adherents, who looked up to and worshipped him as their only hope and reliance. He bore for some time the title of Basant Rái, and afterwards assumed that of Raja, vainly decking himself with the lofty title of Raja Vikramájít.

* Sheikhyi-Bazar, Tar Bed

BOOK VI

A D 1554

In all this, there is certainly much prejudice and misrepresentation, for even Abulfazl is forced to give unwilling testimony, that in the Cabinet he directed affairs of state and the business of the country with singular success, and that though his frame was so feeble that he could not ride on horseback, and even in the field was forced to be carried about in a litter or on an elephant, yet such was his spirit that he maintained stout contests with the enemies of his King, and, by his determined courage, was victorious in many battles, and achieved exploits worthy of the highest reputation. The truth is, that he was a man who had raised himself from a low rank by great and commanding talents, who was eminent both as a statesman and a general, and who sustained the throne of a worthless prince in difficult times, hated and envied by the nobles as a man of nothing, and detested by the Musulmans of all parties as an infidel and a Pagan, who stood in their way on the road to power. To add to these misfortunes, he has been harshly treated by the writers of the opposite party, the only historians of the times, for what, in his situation, was a merit,—his having long been the prop of the Afghán dynasty, and the most formidable enemy of the line of Taimur. In person, as we have said, he is represented as having been of mean deportment, hard-favoured, and of low stature. He never wore a sword, and was unable to ride on horseback. Yet, with all his disadvantages, such were his good fortune and valour that he gained two and twenty battles for the King, whose cause he espoused against the various Afghán pretenders to the throne, and secured a complete ascendancy over them all, establishing, with every class of men, the highest reputation for courage and conduct in the field and ability in the Cabinet.*

* Compare Akbernama, f 92, f 184, Tar Badauni, f 171, Tar Niz ff 223, 4, Tab Akb Kholiset ul Fow f 284. This last

Perhaps the choice of a Hindu Minister, however odious to the Afgháns, was a measure of sound policy in a dissipated and depraved prince like Adeli. From the aspect of the times, it is clear that such a monarch could not have raised any great Afghán noble to the power enjoyed by Hímú, without exposing himself to the risk of being dethroned by his own servant. Nothing of the kind was to be apprehended from a humble and almost despised Pagan, whose consequence depended altogether on that of his patron.*

The timely vigour of Hímú succeeded in quelling the rebellion of Táí Khan Keráni, "but," says the historian, "rebellion had roused herself from her deep slumber, and the line of firm and well-compacted policy of Shír Shah, and of the steady and stern command of Selím Shah was snapped, so that every where things fell into disorder." Adeli was at once hated and despised. The governors of provinces were powerful, and possessed armies entirely under their controul. The suspicious temper of Adeli hastened the crisis. Having conceived doubts of the fidelity of Ibráhim Khan Súr his cousin, the son of Gházi Khan Sui, an uncle of Shír Shah, he had resolved to arrest him. Ibráhim's wife, a sister of the King's, having got intimation of this intention, communicated it to her husband, who, in consequence, fled in disguise from Chunár to his father Ghazi Khan, the governor of Biana and Hindaun. Adeli despatched Isa Khan Názi in pursuit to chastise him. They met near Kalpi, an action took place, in which Ibráhim had the advantage, and defeated Isa Khan. He now openly threw off his allegiance, and collecting an army in his father's government was soon able to march towards Delhi, of which he took possession, ascended the throne,

Spread of
disaf-
fection.

Revolt of
Ibráhim
Khan in
Biána.

He takes
Delhi and
Agra, and

does him justice. See also Ferishta, zam-ed-dín Ahmed, and could hardly vol. II who, as usual, follows Ni- have a better guide in general.

* Tar Niz. f 224

BOOK VI
 A D 1554
 assumes the
 sovereignty

and assumed the title and all the ensigns of royalty Pursuing his success, he next marched towards Agra, which also he reduced, as well as many of the adjoining districts *

On receiving the news of this alarming revolt in the very centre of his dominions, which threatened to deprive him of his most important provinces and of the kingdom itself, Adeli, instead of following the Keránis to complete their ruin, hastily began his march from Chunár towards Agra When he reached the Jamna, he was met by an envoy from Ibráhím, craving forgiveness, and offering to submit once more to the King, provided his Majesty would send to his camp Rái Hasan Khan Jilwání, Behár Khan Sirwání, who now held the title of Azím Humáyun, and some other chiefs of distinction, at once to receive his submission, and guarantee his safety Adeli gladly agreed to this request, in which he saw an end of the contest But the deputed nobles, whether they were from the first in concert with Ibráhím, or whether they were gained over only after reaching his camp and conferring with him, in the end joined the rebel, who stood much higher than the King in the general estimation Adeli, thus betrayed, finding himself unable to meet his antagonist in the field, retreated, first to Panna, and then to Chunár, abandoning, for the present, Agra and the neighbouring provinces of Hindustán to his rival, who assumed the style of Sultan Ibráhím Súr The events that rapidly followed compelled Adeli to confine his attention for some time to the task of retaining Behár and the provinces to the east of the Ganges, where he appears to have firmly established his authority †

But the misfortunes of Adeli were not confined to the successful rebellion of Ibráhím Disaffection and revolt had spread into all the more distant provinces

Distracted
 state of the
 Empire

* Tab Akb f 185 , Tar Bed
 ff 172, 173

† Tab Akb ff 172, 173 , Ak-
 bernáma, f 92

Three other viceroys, the governor of the Penjáb, the governor of Malwa, and the governor of Bengal, all at the same time aspired to independent power, so that, at this crisis, the dominions of Shír Shah, by the feuds among his family, were divided among five Afghán kings, Adeli possessed Behán, Juánpúr and great part of the country east of the Ganges, Sultan Ibráhím Súr held Delhi, Agra, the Doáb and the provinces west of the Jamma, as low down as Kalpi, Ahmed Khan Súr, who assumed the title of Sultan Sekander Shah, enjoyed the Penjáb, Shujá, generally called Sazáwal Khan, the kingdom of Malwa, and Sultan Muhammed Shah Súr, the kingdom of Bengal, for which he had probably even already a competitor in Táý Khan Kerám.

The first of these princes who now marched to invade the dominions of his neighbours, was Ahmed Khan Súr*, also a cousin of Shír Shah, and who, like Ibrahim, had married a sister of Adeli. He had for some time enjoyed the government of the Penjáb, and now, in the utterly disorganised state of the Afghán monarchy, resolved, like other members of the Súr family, to set up for himself, and not content with the possession of his own province, aspired to the throne of Delhi. Having conciliated the different nobles who possessed influence in the Penjáb, and especially Tátár Khan Kási, Haibat Khan and Nasíb Khan Taghúchi, who had been Selím Shah's chief officers in that province, all of whom regarded Adeli with contempt and disgust, he assumed the title of Sekander Shah†, and at the head of ten or twelve thousand well appointed horse and a large attendance of less regular followers, marched towards Delhi and Agra. His cousin, Sultan Ibráhím Súr, who was now in possession of all the pro-

Revolt of
Ahmed
Khan in
the Penjab
A. H. 962
A. D. 1555

* According to the Kholaset ul Towárikh, f. 286, he was brother's son to Shír Shah, and Ferishta calls him his nephew. But the Tar Niz f. 225, the Tar Bed, and the Ni-

sabnáma, f. 117, more correctly make him his uncle's son.

† Sultan Sekander, Khol ul Towárikh

BOOK VI.

A D 1555

vinces around these capitals, marched out to oppose him with much parade and splendour, at the head of an army of seventy or eighty thousand horse excellently equipped, in which there was a remarkable number of officers of high rank *. He is said to have bestowed on not fewer than two hundred the privilege of having rich kanáts or screens round their tents, even in the royal camp, the Alem and tugh standards, and the right of having the nakára or kettle-drum

Is opposed
at Farra by
Ibráhim
Khan,

The armies met at Farra, about ten kos from Agra. Sekander Shah, struck with the great superiority in numbers, as well as with the composition of the army of his rival, became desirous of entering into a negotiation, and sent to propose a compromise, expressing his willingness to retire from Ibráhim's dominions, that that prince should have absolute possession of Delhi and Agra, with their dependant provinces, and whatever he could conquer to the eastward of them, and on the other hand, that Sekander Shah should be acknowledged as sovereign of the Penjáb, Multán and the neighbouring territory, and that the whole of the Afgháns should unite, and make a common cause in repelling Humáyun and his Tartars, should they pass the Indus. The two armies, composed of fellow-countrymen and relations, were delighted at the prospect of this accommodation. But difficulties were started, and Sultan Ibráhim, trusting to the superiority of his numbers, broke off the negotiation, and left the quarrel to be decided by the fate of a battle. This was not long delayed. The vigorous charge of Sekander's left wing, which routed the right of the enemy and pursued them as far as Agra, decided the day. Ibráhim, seeing that the defeat of his army was complete, effected his escape to Sambhal. Sekan-

whom he
defeats

* Khafi Khan says that there were fifty or sixty Amirs in his army. Among these were chiefs of high distinction, especially Hiji Khan Sultan, the ruler of Alwar,

Husein Khan Jilwani, &c., Tar Niz f 225, Tab Alb ff 185, 186, Al bernáma, f 92, Tar Bed ff 174, 175

der Shah, following up his victory, made himself master of Agra and of Delhi, and was soon in possession of the whole extent of country from the Indus to the Ganges

CHAP IV
He occupies
Agra and
Delhi,

Successful thus far, Sekander was desirous of establishing his right to the throne by the appearance at least of a free election by his countrymen. For this purpose, soon after his arrival in Agra, he prepared a magnificent banquet, to which he invited all the chiefs of the Afghán race. When assembled, he told them that he regarded himself as but one of their number, and claimed no kind of superiority over the other leaders of his countrymen. He remarked to them that among the Afgháns, Sultan Behlúl had raised his tribe of Lodí to honour and reputation, that Shír Shah had, in like manner, rendered the tribe of Súr illustrious, that these distinguished princes, by living in harmony with the tribesmen of their nation and cultivating their affection, had done great things, while their successors, Sultan Ibráhím Lodí, and Muhammed Shah Adeli, by following a different course, had involved their kingdoms in ruin and misery, that, at present, civil discord and civil war prevailed on every side among the Afgháns, circumstances the more to be deplored, as their implacable enemy Humáyun, who had now conquered Kábul and had no longer any brothers who could thwart his designs, was ready to pour down upon them with the whole force of his dominions, and to reap the fruit of their infatuation, that the only hope of the Afgháns lay in union, that if they consented to lay aside private feuds and act in concert like a band of brothers, they could still repel the son of Báber, that their interest was the same, that they had one common cause, that he had called them together to consult in common for the

and is de-
clared Em-
peror by
the Afghán
nobles.

* Ibráhím escaped first to Etáwa, and thence to Sambhal. Different accounts of the battle are given. I follow that of Bedauni.

BOOK VI

A D 1555

common good, that at such a crisis, all personal claims to superiority must cease, that he appeared among them only as a private individual, and invited them to choose, as their leader, the man who, from his talents, was best fitted to give unity to their great national efforts, and to lead them to victory, and that to such a person, whoever he might be, selected by their free choice, he was ready at once to swear allegiance, and to humble himself as his most faithful subject. The assembly, with one voice, called out that Sekander Shah, the worthy cousin of Shír Shah, was the wished-for person, and that he alone should be their leader and sovereign. They then proceeded to take a solemn oath to be faithful to him, and to live in peace and unanimity among themselves, and having seated him on the throne of Agra, they presented to him the usual congratulations and offerings, as their King. But the distribution of honours and jagírs that followed, soon put to flight all their wise and virtuous resolutions, and once more introduced discord and heart-burnings into the camp of the Afgháns.

Humáyun
enters the
Penjáb

When Sekander, having settled affairs at the capital and subdued the provinces around it, was preparing to pursue still farther the advantages he had gained over Sultan Ibráhím, and had even a fair prospect of attacking Adeli, and gaining possession of the rich kingdoms of Behár and Bengal, to which he was about to direct his march, the unwelcome news arrived that Humáyun, secure in the throne of Kábul, was on his march to recover the Penjáb itself, which he had entered, and occupied a large portion of the country. It is probable that Sekander, when he set out for Agra, had removed the most efficient part of the military force of the Penjáb. To protect a country that was the seat of his power, and to check the progress of an invader whose success would be alike fatal to all the Afghán candidates for power, Sekander, without loss of time, despatched Tátár Khan and Haibat Khan with forty

thousand horse It is only necessary in this place to observe that these generals were defeated on the Satlej at Máchíwára by Biram Khan with great loss, and retreated towards Delhi Sekander, collecting his whole force, was soon able to oppose the invaders with an army of seventy thousand men, and checked Biram's advance, near Sirhend Here, however, Biram having been reinforced by the arrival of Humáyun in person, a great battle was fought which proved unfavourable to Sekander That prince was forced to take refuge among the Sewálík mountains, where he maintained a position for some time, and even overran a great portion of the Penjáb in the beginning of Akber's reign But, being again hard pressed, he was compelled to abandon that country, and found his way to Bengal, where he succeeded in seizing the reins of government, but soon after died

CHAP IV

His general
Biram Khan
defeats the
Afgháns on
the Satlej

Humáyun
defeats and
expels
Ahmed
Khan.

No sooner did Sultan Ibráhím Súr ascertain that Sekander had detached the strength of his army towards the Penjáb, than, leaving his retreat in Sambhal, he crossed the Ganges, and directed his march towards Kalpi, resolved to recruit his army, and to attempt to regain the kingdom It so happened that, at the very same time, Muhammed Shah Adeli, influenced by the same motives, and burning to recover the territory that he had lost, had detached Hímú, now his Prime Minister, from Chunái with a formidable army, five hundred elephants and a powerful train of artillery, to occupy Agra and Delhi Hímú, on arriving near Kalpi, encountered Sultan Ibráhím, who was already once more at the head of a considerable force of Afgháns, Noháms and Zemíndárs of Biána, and made an attempt to surprise Hímú by night at Khanwa, about ten kos from Biána After a severe contest, Ibráhím, being defeated, was compelled to take shelter in that fortress, in which he was immediately shut up, and besieged by Hímú His father Gházi Khau contrived, however, to

Ibráhím
again takes
the field

Advance of
Muhammed
Shah's for-
ces under
Hímú,

who defeats
him, and
besieges
him in
Biána

BOOK VI. supply the place with provisions which he sent from
 A D 1555 Hindáun by the neighbouring hills *

Revolt of
 Muhammed
 Khan in
 Bengal.

While Hímú was thus employed, Muhammed Khan Súr †, —also a near relation of Shír Shah, who had been governor of Bengal, but who during the confusion that followed the accession of Adeli, had declared himself king of that country by the title of Sultan Jilál-ed-dín—encouraged by the insubordination and disorder that everywhere prevailed, advanced into Behár, in order to expel Adeli and to add that province to his kingdom, having aims at the same time upon Júanpúr, and his ambition extending even to Delhi itself. This invasion made Adeli hastily recall Hímú from the siege of Biána, after he had battered it for three months. His army had wasted the country on every side, and added all the disorders of rapine and pillage to the horrors of a frightful famine, which at that time raged, and carried off thousands of the population on every side. The starving inhabitants saw, with feelings of envy and anger, the five hundred elephants of Hímú regularly fed with fine rice and sugarcane, and a public table kept, to which all the Afghán Amírs and officers of note were invited, and entertained with wasteful profusion. Hímú, abandoning the siege with reluctance, retired by the village of Mundhákér ‡, followed by Ibráhím, who hung upon his rear, and attacked him near that place. But Hímú again proved victorious, and the Sultan fled to Alwar to ask succour of Háji Khan. Hímú detached his nephew with a strong force, who pursued the flying prince for two or three stages, and then returned. Háji Khan, who was little pleased with Sultan Ibráhím's visit, afforded him no assistance. Driven to extremity, therefore, he resolved to abandon

Retreat of
 Hímú from
 Biána to-
 wards Be-
 hár

* Tar Niz f 226, Tar Bed
 ff 175, 176, Ferishta, vol II
 p 153

† He is also called Gouria from

Gour his capital, and sometimes
 Muhammed Khan Bengálí

‡ Mundhákér is about six kos
 from Agra

that quarter and bidding a last adieu to his father, brothers, and family whom he left in Hindáun, he took the road to the country of Panna, attended by a few faithful followers

The future history of Sultan Ibráhím Súr may be given in few words. The historian Abdal Káder regrets that a man possessed of so many valuable qualities should have been unsuccessful in war. Handsome in person, polite, accomplished, generous and brave, he suffered sixteen or seventeen defeats in the course of two or three years. His father Gházi Khan was taken by capitulation in Biána by one of the Emperor's generals not long after Ibráhím's departure, and the whole family young and old put to death, so that Ibráhím himself was the only remnant of the race, whose pomp and power, says the historian, is now but a tale.*

Flight and
fate of Ibrá-
hím Khan

After leaving his father, Sultan Ibráhím, who was very popular, having collected a considerable force, marched towards Bhatta†, a Hindu principality in the east of Malwa, and attacked Raja Rámehander the native chief, by whom, however, he was defeated, and taken prisoner. The Raja treated his prisoner with distinguished courtesy. He visited him in person and presented him with honorary presents, allowed him to retain all his tents and the ensigns of royalty, seated him on his throne, and attended by his native Hindus, waited upon him as his subject. Here Ibráhím remained till after the death of Shujaa or Sazáwal Khan, the Prince of Malwa, when the Afgháns of the Miána tribe, who had a quarrel with his son and successor Báz Beháder, invited Ibráhím to Ráisen where they had

* Tar Bed f 175

† Bhatta. This word is variously written in the manuscripts. Dow reads it Bhethah, Briggs, Punna, the MSS of Khafi Khan have Tahta or Thatta. The real read-

ing seems to be Bhatta, which is a district of Ghara or Garrah in Malwa. See Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. 1 p 316, and Gazetteer, *sub* loci Garrah.

BOOK VI

A D 1556

A H 975

Hímú joins
Muhammed
near KalpiDefeats and
destroys the
army of
Bengal

established themselves, offering to raise him to the throne of Malwa in opposition to their enemy. He joined them, and Durgáwati, the Ráni of Garrah, having been associated in the confederacy, their affairs were for some time prosperous. But Bázh Beháder having contrived to detach the Ráni from the league, Ibráhim, finding that all prospect of success was gone, fled to Orissa, where he remained several years, till that province was conquered by Sulemán Keráni of Bengal, when he waited upon Sulemán, in consequence of a solemn agreement, and was treacherously put to death.*

Meanwhile, Hímú, after defeating Sultan Ibráhim at Mundháker, continued his march down the Jamna with the utmost celerity, and joined Adeli Muhammed Shah Súr, the King of Bengal, had spread his detachments over the province of Juánpúr, and he himself had advanced to Chapergháta†, fifteen kos from Kalpi. Here the hostile armies lay, divided only by the Jamna, and the Sovereign of Bengal, who had a large and highly equipped army of both horse and foot, with a number of elephants, was prepared to cross the river, and looked forward with confidence to a decisive victory. But the sudden and unexpected arrival of Hímú changed the face of affairs. The moment he came, he sent his troops across, and fording the river with his elephants, fell on the army of Bengal by surprise. The resistance made was comparatively trifling. The enemy, in the obscurity of the night, could distinguish nothing, and forsook their camp. The slaughter was great among the fugitives. Many Amírs of rank perished. Muhammed himself was never heard of more. The whole camp, and the property that it contained, became the prey of the conquerors‡.

Having thus removed another of the competitors for

* Tar Niz f 226, Tab Akb f 186, Tar Bed f 176, Kho-
láset ul Towárikh, f 286.

† Chaper-ghát, Akb 92 and

145

‡ Tab Akb and others as above

his throne, Adeli returned to Chumír, in order to collect a force with which to expel from Hindustán the Emperor Humáyun, who, after his victory over Sekander Sháh at Sirhend, had advanced as far as Delhi, which he had occupied, while his troops which had been pushed forward had taken possession of Agra and the surrounding provinces. The death of Humáyun, which followed soon after, increased the anxiety of Adeli to check the invaders, and in a short time Humú was dispatched with an army of fifty thousand horse and five hundred elephants towards Agra, to take advantage of this occurrence, to recover what had been lost, and to expel the invaders from his kingdom.

CHAP. IV
Humáyun at
Delhi

His death.

Humú sent
against Ak-
ber

The events that followed will be related more in detail in the reign of Akber. Suffice it to say that, on the approach of Humú's army, Sekander Khan Uzbek and the other generals of the Emperor Akber, who had succeeded his father, sensible that they were unable to resist so powerful a force, retreated to Delhi. Humú, having occupied Agra, pursued the retreating enemy. Near Delhi he was encountered by the governor of that capital, the veteran Terdí Beg, who gave him battle, but was defeated and retreated towards the Penjáb, leaving Humú in possession of both capitals.

reoccupies
Agra and
Delhi.

The victorious Humú now moved out of Delhi with all his force, and advanced to Pámpit, on the plains of which the fate of India has been so often decided. The invaders were commanded by Bírám Khan, and the youthful Akber. In a well contested battle, the fate of war was at length unfavourable to Humú, who was wounded in the eye by an arrow, taken prisoner and carried before Akber, and put to death by order of Bírám Khan.

Defeated,
and killed
at Pámpit

This battle was decisive of the fate of the Afghán dynasty. After the death of Humú the fortune of Adeli rapidly declined. Before that event, Khúzer Khan, the son of the late Muhammed Shah Súr, who

Subversion
of the
Afghán
dynasty

BOOK VI

A D 1556

Defeat and
death of
Muhammed
Shah in
BeharHis charac-
terHis son
Shír ShahRemarks on
the Afghán
dynasty in
India,

had been defeated and slain at Chaparghâta, having succeeded his father in Gour and assumed the title of Sultan Beháder, collected a large army, which he led against Adeli to revenge his father's death, and overran a portion of the eastern provinces that Adeli still enjoyed. In spite of his character for effeminacy, that prince took the field in person, and met the invader, whom he bravely engaged in a well-contested battle, in which, however, he was unsuccessful and was slain, after a reign of nearly three years.

This depraved effeminate prince, while he seems to have been devoid of every moral excellence, had a refined taste, and was distinguished for his skill in music and dancing. Mían Tansín, the great master of these arts, acknowledged himself his scholar and Báẓ Beháder, the King of Malwa, and one of the most gifted musicians of his age, ascribed his excellence to the instructions of Adeli. It is added, that he was scrupulously exact in all religious observances, he never omitted the prescribed prayers, and was regular in fasting, and altogether abstained from intoxicating liquors. His body was never found.

His son Shír Shah is said to have assumed the ensigns of royalty in the fortress of Chunár upon his death. His reign was probably short and limited in power, as he has been wholly passed over by most historians.

With him ended the Súr dynasty, which rose by the genius of one remarkable man, was sustained by the talents of another, and fell by the ignorance and vices of their successors. It illuminated Hindustán for a short time by its radiance, but its light, says Abulfazl, was only that of the glowworm, which shines in the darkness of the night, during the absence of the real sun, but vanishes as soon as that luminary once more ascends the firmament in its glory.

The Afghán dynasty had ruled India about a hundred

and six years, reckoning from the accession of Sultan Behlúl Lodi, without making allowance for what may be called the interregnum of Báber and Humáyun, and only twenty-six years since the accession of Sháh Shah, and the Súr family

Of the five kings, who at the same moment contended for independence in the Afghán empire of India, we have seen, that Adeli fell in battle, that Sultan Ibráhím of Biána, after repeated defeats, fled to Malwa, and finally perished in Orissa, and that Sultan Muhammed Shah of Bengal, having been slain at Chapergháta, was succeeded by his son Sultan Beháder Sultan Sekander of the Penjáb, the fourth competitor, having been defeated by Humáyun and Birain Khan at Sirhend, took refuge in the Himaláya mountains, as has been mentioned, and after various transactions, which belong to the reign of Akber, fled to Bengal, where he contrived to seize the reins of government, but soon after died, and was succeeded by Táý Khan Keráni and Suleimán Keráni

and the five competitors for the sovereignty at the time of Humáyun's restoration

Shujaa or Sazáwal Khan, the fifth, who was the ruler of Malwa, does not seem to have invaded the territories of the Delhi kingdom. On his death, which happened about this time, his son Beháder, stripping his brothers of their share of their father's dominions, mounted the throne under the name of Sultan Báý Beháder of Malwa, and held the sovereign power for many years

Such was the fate of the five kings who were contending in the heart of the Afghán empire, when Humáyun returned into India, and whose discord paved the way for the conquest of the country. It is now necessary to retrace our steps, and to accompany Humáyun from Kábul in his successful invasion of Hindustán *

* The chief authorities for this chapter are the Tab Akb ff 182—185, Tar Niz. ff 223—226, Akbernama, ff 91, 92, Tar Bedauni,

ff 174—176, Ferishta, vol II pp 143—152, iv pp 275, 276, Kholaset ul Towárikh, ff 284—286, Khafi Khan, ff 61—65

BOOK SEVENTH.

HUMÁYUN'S RECONQUEST OF INDIA, AND DEATH

HUMÁYUN RESOLVES TO ATTEMPT THE RECONQUEST OF INDIA — HIS SUSPICIONS OF BIRAM KHAN — WHO ENTERTAINS HIM MAGNIFICENTLY AT KANDAHÁR — AND ARRANGES TO ACCOMPANY HIM ON HIS INVASION — HUMÁYUN'S PREPARATIONS AT KÁBUL — HE IS JOINED BY BIRAM KHAN — SETS OUT ON HIS EXPEDITION, AND REACHES THE INDUS — STATE OF INDIA. — HUMÁYUN CROSSES THE INDUS — OCCUPIES RHOTAS AND THE NORTHERN PENJÁB, AND ENTERS LÁHUR — SUCCESSFUL PROGRESS — OCCUPATION OF SIRHIND — CONTINUED DISTRACTIONS IN HINDUSTÁN — BIRAM KHAN CROSSES THE SATLEJ — BATTLE OF MÁCHÍWÁRA — ADVANCE OF SEKANDER SHAH — HUMÁYUN SUPPORTS BIRAM — BATTLE OF SIRHIND — FLIGHT OF SEKANDER, AND DISPERSION OF HIS FORCES — SHAH ABUL MAALI — DECISIVE EFFECTS OF THE VICTORY AT SIRHIND — HUMÁYUN RE-OCCUPIES DELHI — DISTRIBUTES THE PROVINCES, WHICH ARE RAPIDLY REDUCED — SURRENDER OF BÍANA — FREQUENT INSUBORDINATION OF HUMÁYUN'S OFFICERS — A REVOLT OF MÍRZA SULEIMÁN IN BADAKHSHÁN — MISCONDUCT OF ABUL MAALI IN THE PENJÁB — HE IS SUPPRESSED BY AKBER, WHO EXPELS SEKANDER SHAH — ACCOUNT RECEIVED OF THE DEATH OF HUMÁYUN — HIS PLANS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE — PARTICULARS OF HIS DEATH, WHICH IS FOR A TIME CONCEALED — ALARM EXCITED BY THIS EVENT — DANGER OF THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF HUMÁYUN

BOOK VII

A D 1554
Humáyun
resolves to
attempt the
reconquest
of India

No sooner was Humáyun released from the danger of rebellion and civil war by the blindness and banishment of Kámrán, his only surviving brother, than his mind reverted to his long-cherished wish for the recovery of the throne of Delhi. But, before venturing on such an enterprise, it was necessary to secure himself in his kingdom of Kábul and its dependencies, that, while attempting the conquest of India, he might not see himself deprived of his older dominions in the West

BOOK VII

A D 1554

once into his power, professed the most unlimited devotion to his interests, and comported himself with so much submission and frankness, that he not only entirely removed the Emperor's suspicions, but, by his insinuating address and the sure influence of a strong mind over a weak one, soon regained his usual ascendancy over him. Humáyun, faithful to his original plan, still offered Monaim Khan the government of Kandahár, but that honest Minister advised his master on no account to make any such change when about to set out on an expedition of so much importance, but intimated that, if successful in India, it would be in his power to act in regard to Kandahár as he might think proper, and with perfect safety. Humáyun spent the rest of the winter at Kandahár, where Bírám Khan entertained him with unostentatious magnificence.*

and arranges to accompany him on his invasion

In the spring, Humáyun set out on his return towards Kábul. He was accompanied as far as Mukur by Bírám Khan, now once more his prime adviser. Sensible, however, of the uncertain tenure by which even the most faithful subject holds his favour when at a distance from the court, and desirous, perhaps, of sharing the danger and the glory of a mighty undertaking, Bírám requested that he might be allowed to leave a deputy in the government which he had so long held, and permitted in person to attend his Majesty in the expedition that he meditated. This was readily granted. He returned to Kandahár, to make arrangements for its government in his absence, and to prepare the chosen body of troops with which he was to join the invading army. He prevailed upon the Emperor to remove Terdí Beg Khan from the government of Zemíndáwer, which lay in his neighbourhood, and to

* At Kandahár, Humáyun found Khwája Gházi just returned from a mission to Persia, and restored him

to the office of diwán, the duties of which he had so honestly discharged.

BOOK VII

A D 1554

A H 962
end of
MoharemSefer 6,
Dec. 31,and reaches
the IndusState of
IndiaSefer 8
A D 1555
Jan 2

reinforcements which were daily arriving Humáyun, on reaching Júi-sháhi, embarked on a raft, was floated down the Kábul river, and reached Pesháwer in the latter part of December, when he loaded Sekander Uzbek with praises for his gallant defence of the place and raised him to the rank of Khan. On the last day of the year 1554 his standard waved on the banks of the Indus, where he halted three days, and was joined by Biram Khan and the rest of the army from Kábul; at the same moment that he received with surprise the gratifying intelligence that Tátár Khan Kási, the Afghán governor of the northern part of the Penjáb, on hearing of his march, had abandoned the fort of Rhotas, the strongest in the Penjáb, of which it was regarded as the northern bulwark, and had retired with his whole force to the south.

Indeed no moment could have been more favourable for an invasion of India. Selím Shah, a vigorous prince, had now been dead about a year, and had been succeeded by Adeli, whose accession, we have seen, was the signal for general revolt and rebellion. Four competitors for the throne of Delhi had appeared among the Afgháns, each possessed of a large extent of country and of a powerful army. The whole empire of Delhi was one scene of civil war and of intestine confusion. The capital itself had been repeatedly taken and retaken. Ahmed Khan, the Afghán governor of Láhúr, who, under the title of Sekander Shah, was one of the candidates for the throne, had carried away the army of the Penjáb to Delhi, so that the province was left without troops for its defence, and the garrisons had been withdrawn or neglected while Sekander was at a distance, busily employed in playing the greater game of Delhi. The retreat of Tátár Khan from Rhotas was, therefore, probably only a measure of prudence or necessity. Humáyun crossed the Indus unopposed on the 2nd of January 1555, and pursued

his march by Perhalí, through the country of the Gakers. He invited Sultan Adam Gaker, the chief of that hardy tribe, to join him, but the Sultan, with many protestations of attachment, excused himself, alleging that he had most unwillingly been compelled to enter into a treaty with Sekander Shah before that prince set out on his expedition against Delhi, and had given him his son as a hostage for its due observance. Humáyun, believing that he was well disposed towards the family of Baber, and eager to push on, left him behind, with joy took possession of the fortress of Rhotas, which he found deserted, passed the Jelm and the Chenab, and, without striking a blow, saw himself master of all the northern part of the Punjab.

Humáyun crosses the Indus

Ocupies Rhotas and the Northern Punjab

On arriving at Kílámír, between the Rávi and the Bialí, Humáyun divided his forces, despatching a strong body under Biram Khan and Terdí Beg to attack Nasíb Khán, an Afghán general who lay encamped near Harháma*, while he himself directed his march to the capital, Láhúr, which, being abandoned on his approach, he entered on the 24th of February, and was received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants.

and Lahur

Reb II 2

Feb 24

Not long after his arrival, Humáyun, learning that a large body of Afghans† was near Dibálpúr, despatched Sháh Abul Maalí with eight hundred horse to beat up

Successful progress

* This town is variously called Harháma, Harrahama, and Harmana, and seems to have lain between Kílámír and Jálándher.

† The Muhammedan historians in general give the command of this army to Sháhábíz Khán and Nasír Khán. Jouher represents it as led by Umer Khán Gaker, who had collected it about Multán, and was marching towards Firuzpúr to join the Afghán army on the south of Satluj. This is not improbable, and

the orthodox historians may have dropt the name of the Gaker as a semi-barbarian. In the action, Abul Maalí, who had rushed into the midst of the enemy and was surrounded, was saved only by the gallant exertions of Ali Kuli Sístán (afterwards Khán Zeman), his second in command, who penetrated the masses of the enemy, shouting out the *takbeer*, or Musulmán war cry, and brought him off. Akbernama, ff 92, 93, Jouher, 29, 30

BOOK VII

A D 1555

their quarters Abul Maali, a brave but arrogant and presumptuous youth, and the especial favourite of Humáyun, charged them without hesitation, though they were found, it is said, to amount to twelve thousand men, and after a short but well contested action, defeated and dispersed them, taking their whole baggage, women and families. This victory, being the first gained in the campaign, was vauntingly extolled by Abul Maali and his partizans, and served still more to feed his already inordinate vanity.

Meanwhile, Biram Khan pushed on to Harhána, which, after a slight skirmish, was given up, and much valuable plunder, as well as the wives and families of the Afgháns, fell into his hands. The prisoners were all set at liberty, and the women and children were collected and sent under the protection of an escort to Nasíb Khan, in consequence of a vow made by Humáyun, that if providence restored to him the sovereignty of India, he would allow no men who were servants of God to be made captives of man. Several of the elephants and some of the more valuable property were sent, as was the custom, to be presented to the Emperor.

Biram now advanced to Jalindher, where the Afgháns had taken up a position but no sooner did he come near them than they again retreated. "for such," says Abdal Káder, "was the terror which the Afgháns at this time entertained of the Moghuls, that, though they were thousands in number, if they saw the approach of but half a score of big turbans, though they might perhaps belong only to Láhúris, they instantly turned and took to flight, without looking behind them *." In the present instance, the Afgháns not only escaped with their lives, but carried off their baggage. This they were enabled to do, through an altercation that occurred

in the imperial camp and the consequences of which, at a future time, were very important. Abulfazl tells us, that Terdi Beg was desirous to have pursued and brought the Afghins to action, but that Bīram Khan did not approve of that movement, and refused to give orders for carrying it into effect. Terdi Beg, believing that a pursuit would complete the destruction of the enemy, sent Baltū Khan to Bīram, with instructions to leave no means untried to induce him to follow the retreating enemy. Baltū accordingly delivered his message when Khwāṣi Mawzani Sultan, a wrong-headed man Akber's uncle who happened to be present, rudely interfered and even proceeded to use insulting language, which Baltū in anger retorted. On this the Khwāṣa, drawing his sword, aimed a blow at Baltū, and struck him on the arm. Humayun no sooner heard of the occurrence than he issued a firman committing the examination of the whole affair to a confidential officer, who hastening to Bīram Khan's camp, by the use of his Majesty's name and by his own advice and conciliatory manners, succeeded in pacifying, at least in appearance the angry Amir. Bīram, who seems to have proposed halting for some time in the Punjab, cantoned his troops in Jalandher and the neighbourhood, and distributed the adjoining districts among his officers. But Sekander Uzbek, who commanded the advance, and was stationed at Machwāra on the Satlej, finding what he regarded as a favourable opportunity, crossed the river, and pushing forward took possession of the important town of Sirhend. Bīram, whose bravery was tempered by prudence, and who seems to have been desirous to secure the country that had been gained and to concentrate his force, highly disapproved of this movement as being too much in advance, and the event seemed to justify his views.*

Occupation
of Sirhend.

* Akb ff 92, 93, Tab Akb Tar Bed f 188, Jouher, c 29, f 167, Tar Niz ff 204, 205, 30

BOOK VII

A D 1555
Continued
distractions
in Hindus

While Humáyun thus overran the Penjáb, civil war continued to rage in Hindustán, which was wasted by the armies of various pretenders, and became the scene of the wildest anarchy. Delhi, the ancient capital, and the point nearest to the invaders, had repeatedly changed masters. Sekander Shah*, the late governor of the Penjáb, was now in possession of it. He had lately defeated Sultan Ibráhím, one of his competitors, and was preparing to march from Atáwa against Sultan' Adeli, another of them, when he heard of Humáyun's invasion and success. The danger was pressing. Not only was the Penjáb the province from which his troops were chiefly drawn, and on which he most relied for support, but the victorious standards of Humáyun might be expected soon to wave on the towers of Delhi itself. Sekander, therefore, was compelled to divide his army, and while, with the main body of it, he continued his operations against Adeli, he despatched a strong reinforcement to support Tátár Khan, who had now retreated out of the Penjáb in the direction of Delhi, instructing him to march back, and crush, or at least keep in check, the invading army. Tátár Khan, thus reinforced, advanced at the head of 30,000 men towards Sirhend. His approach induced Sekander Uzbek to abandon that place, and to retreat across the Satlej to Jalindher, a movement for which he was severely censured by Biram, who regarded such a retrograde motion as ill-timed, and told him that, having advanced, however improperly, he ought to have maintained his post at Sirhend to the last, and sent to him for instructions.

Biram Khan
crosses the
Satlej

Without loss of time, Biram Khan now collected his troops, and proceeded against the enemy. On reaching Máchíwára, Terdí Beg and some others of the generals were against passing the Satlej at that time, as the

* Ahmed Khan Sur, the governor of the Penjab, assumed the style of Sultan Sekander. He is also often called Sekander Shah.

rainy season was close at hand, and advised merely guarding the ferries and fords, and acting on the defensive till the monsoon was over. Biram, on the other hand, was for crossing without delay, and he was not a man whose plans were easily to be thwarted. His high capacity, his bold and determined spirit, and his discriminating patronage of merit, had brought about him a numerous party, absolutely devoted to his interests. By great exertions, in which he was zealously assisted by his partisans, he succeeded in transporting his division across the river, and now, the safety of the whole being compromised, Terdi Beg and the others saw themselves compelled to follow, however unwillingly.*

The Afghans, who had already reached the banks of the river, and were preparing bundles of reeds to form rafts for crossing, on hearing of this operation, and finding that Biram's army was very inferior in numbers to their own, resolved to engage them. The battle began towards evening. Biram's troops, which he had drawn up near the river, remained firm on their ground, keeping up a discharge of arrows, till it grew dark, when they were forced to intermit it. But a house having taken fire in a village that formed a large portion of the Afghán lines, the conflagration spread to the surrounding huts most of which were roofed with straw, and soon extended over the whole village. Biram's men were now enabled by the flames to see every motion of their enemies, and to take deliberate aim, so that all their arrows told, while those of the Afgháns were discharged at random into the darkness around. The Afgháns continued, nevertheless, for some time,

Battle of
Machwar

* Many of them were Persians or Persian Turks, as Kasim Khan Nishapuri, Haider-kuli Beg Shamlu, &c. The motley nature of Humayun's army may be conceived from the tribes of the four generals

commanding the divisions, Biram Khan was a Persian Turk, Khizer Khan Hazara an Afghán Hazara, Terdi Beg Khan was a Turk of Ierghiana, and Sekander Khan an Uzbek.

BOOK VII

A D 1555

bravely to maintain their ground, but at length, harassed and worn out by the unequal contest, they took to flight, and resigned the field. Next day, Biram resumed his march, and soon occupied Sirhend without opposition. Humáyun, delighted with this important victory, honoured Biram Khan with the title of Khan-Khánán, Yar Vafádár (Lord of Lords, the Faithful Friend), and his army was, soon after, strengthened by reinforcements sent by the Emperor.*

Advance of
Sekander
Shah.

When the news of this discomfiture reached Sekander Shah, giving up every other enterprise, he collected the whole of his force, to check the progress of a torrent from which he had so much to dread. With an army of 70,000 horse, a number of war-elephants, and a strong train of artillery, he marched for the Penjáb. On hearing of his approach, Biram Khan, whose army was still far from numerous†, despatched repeated expresses to Humáyun, who still remained at Láhúr, representing to him the urgent necessity of his hastening to his relief with the rest of the troops, and, in the meantime, he raised strong entrenchments round his camp, to enable him to keep his ground at Sirhend until the reinforcements arrived.

Humáyun
supports
Biram.

Humáyun was confined by sickness when he received Biram's letters, but immediately despatched his son Akber, with a large body of troops, to his assistance, and, a few days after, was well enough to follow them. On reaching Sirhend, he found that Sekander Shah had already arrived, and had been a fortnight before the place, that he had strongly fortified his camp with ditch and parapet, "according to the practice of Shír Shah," and had made daily attacks on the imperial troops, who kept behind their trenches. Humáyun

Rejeb 7†
May 28

* Akbernama, ff 94, 95, Tar Niz ff 204, 205, Tar Bed 189, Jouher, c 31, Bayezid, ff 79, 80, Ferishta, vol II pp 174, 175, Khafi Khan

† Jouher says, it consisted of only

700 or 800 men, meaning, perhaps, northern men or Persians

‡ The night of the 7th Rejeb, may have been the night of the 27th May

established his head-quarters in a garden near the town, and for some time, skirmishes and single combats duly took place, conducted with much bravery and more courtesy than was usual in that age and country, the wounded and the slain being given up to their friends. Great apprehensions of the result were, however, entertained in Humáyun's camp, the number of fighting men in which is represented as amounting to only five thousand.

Seeing that it was necessary to supply defect of numbers by increased activity and energy, Humáyun resolved to attempt cutting off the supplies of the Afghan camp, a system of annoyance which he had so successfully employed against Beháder Sháh of Gujrát, at Mandsu. For carrying into effect a plan of campaign, apparently so unsuitable to his diminutive force, he must have trusted to the great superiority of his Turks, Moghuls, and other northern men over the troops of his adversary, whether in forays or in combating man to man. Terdi Beg was appointed to execute the details. He soon interrupted their communications, intercepted a large convoy of provisions, defeating a detachment under one of Sekander Sháh's brothers, whom he slew, and brought back to the camp his banner and the insignia of his dignity. This action seems to have drawn the enemy from their trenches, to support and bring off the detachment, and, the engagement spreading from one division to another, brought on a general battle of the whole line sooner than was anticipated. The Afgháns directed the violence of their attack against Bám Khan's division, hoping that if it, which was understood to be the strongest, was defeated, they would more easily break the others. But Bám, when attacked, retired into the works which he had thrown up in front of his encampment, and stood on the defensive, and the enemy were unable to force his position. Meanwhile

Battle of
Sirhend

BOOK VII

A D 1555

Shaban 2
June 22Flight of
Sekander
and disper-
sion of his
forcesShah Abul
Maali

Humáyun, seeing that Biram was able to maintain his ground, ordered the division under Shah Abul Maali and Terdi Beg to charge the attacking enemy in flank and rear, which was done with such effect that their whole army, now said to amount to nearly an hundred thousand men, soon became a mass of confusion, dispersed and fled from the field, leaving behind their whole baggage, field equipage and artillery. The battle was fought on the 22nd day of June, the summer solstice, during the rainy monsoon. The wind and rain, which happened then to be excessive, soon relaxed the pursuit. Sekander Shah escaped from the field of battle, and, with much personal danger, found his way to that part of the Sewálik mountains that skirts the Penjáb.*

Hardly was the din of battle over, when a contest arose between Shah Abul Maali and Biram Khan upon the question to whom, in the official account, the honour of the victory should be ascribed. The young man who thus put forward his pretensions in opposition to the Khan Khánán, had been introduced to Humáyun only four years before, but had suddenly risen to the highest place in his favour. He was from Káshghar, but claimed descent from the celebrated saintly family of the Syeds of Turmez, was brave, enterprising and accomplished, but presumptuous and insolent. A striking instance of his bold contempt of authority had lately occurred at Kandahár. Shír Ali Khan had, without leave, quitted the service of Shah Tahmasp, in which he was Mír shikári, or grand huntsman, and entered that of Humáyun. Abul Maali, a keen Shíá, intoxicated with religious zeal, and desirous of gratifying the Persian king, descended, like himself, of a religious family, boasted publicly, and even in the Emperor's presence, that he would put the

* Ut supra, and Khol ul Tow ff 286, 287

traitor to death wherever he met him. The Emperor, regarding this threat as a mere idle bravado, took no measures to protect the fugitive. One night, however, the boaster did execute his threat, and assassinated the Khm Humáyun, though he felt his authority insulted, yet, seduced by his partiality for the criminal, not only did not bring him to punishment, but soon after raised him to offices of the highest trust, made him the chosen partner of all his pleasures, and familiarly addressed him as, "My son." On the present occasion, the young favourite, confident in his master's partiality, demanded that his name should occupy the most conspicuous place in the official announcement of the victory, under pretence that he had not only gained the first success in the campaign, but had had the most share in the present battle. The veteran Būrum Khan, on the other hand, claimed that honour, as having had the management of the whole plan of the campaign, as well as having been the first to invade the enemy's country, which he had overrun and occupied. Any formal decision of the question was evaded by bestowing the distinction contended for upon Akber, whose claim neither of the competitors was likely to dispute.

The battle was quite decisive. No enemy any longer appeared in the field. A pillar of heads was erected. The Emperor despatched Sekander Uzbek towards Delhi, to clear the road to the capital, and himself followed, with the main body of the army, as far as Samana, where, finding that Sultan Sekander had not retreated towards Hindustán, but had taken shelter in the highlands of Sewálík, whence he might threaten the low country of the Penjáb, he halted, and sent back Shah Abul Maali with a strong detachment to Jalandher, to keep him in check, and to hinder him from raising his old province in the rear of the advancing

Decisive
effects of
the victory

BOOK VII
A. D. 1555

Humáyun
reoccupies
Delhi.
Ramzán, 4
July 23

Distributes
the pro-
vinces

The whole resources of the Penjáb were placed at Abul Maali's disposal. Humáyun had not remained long at Samana to find shelter from the heavy rains which were falling, and to rest and refresh his troops, when despatches reached him from Sekander Uzbek, who had advanced to Delhi without opposition, earnestly urging him to pursue his advantages, and to repair to the capital without loss of time. He accordingly put his troops in motion, and on the 23rd of July once more ascended the throne of Delhi, in the imperial city.*

The first act of his government was to distribute the provinces among his retainers. Hissár Firúza, though not yet reduced, he reserved to the crown, but assigned to Akber, as being the province which he himself had received from Báber, when he first entered India. Sirhend and some other districts were granted to Biram Khan, in addition to Kandahár, which he still held, Shah Abul Maali got the Penjáb, Terdi Beg Khan had Mewát, which was not yet conquered, Sekander Uzbek was sent forward to occupy Agra, Ali Kuli Sistáni was despatched to reduce Mirat and Sambhal, and Haider Muhammed Khan, akhteh-begi (grand-marshal) was sent against Biána. The Emperor himself remained stationary at head-quarters in the fort of Delhi, to watch over the progress of his arms, and the general settlement of the country.

Rapid re-
duction of
the pro-
vinces

The different provinces fell rapidly into his hands. Hissár-Firúza surrendered after a short siege. Agra made no resistance. Bedáun was conquered and occupied by one Kamber Diwána, a man of low birth and singular habits, but brave and of popular talents, who acknowledged the Emperor, and appears to have been recognized by him as Governor. Ali Kuli Sistáni, after taking possession of Mirat and Sambhal, which had been

* Akbernama, ff 91—95, Tab Akb ff 167, 168, Jouher, c 32

assigned to him, attacked Kamber, who was hated by the Amís of family, and having taken Bedáun by stratagem and treachery, put him to death, and pretending ignorance of the Emperor's wishes, sent his head to Humáyun, who, though he felt and professed much displeasure, left the culprit unpunished *

While these events were passing to the eastward, Haider Muhammed marched to reduce Biána, his new government. That important fort had long been in possession of Gházi Khan Súr, one of the most eminent and powerful of the Afghán chiefs, whose son Ibráhím Shah was one of the five princes who, at the same moment, were contending for the sovereign authority in this distracted country. We have seen that Ibráhím was defeated, and expelled from Delhi and Agra by Sultan Sekander, after which, he was defeated at Kalpi, and blockaded for three months in Biána itself, by Hímú, the Hindu Minister of Adeli. When relieved from this danger by the retreat of Hímú, who was called away to Behál to oppose an invasion of the King of Bengal, Ibráhím, having made an attack upon Bhatta in Malwa, was defeated and taken prisoner, and now remained in captivity in the hands of the Raja of that country. His father, Gházi Khan, did not attempt to resist Haider Muhammed in the field, but retired into his strong fortress, where for some time he successfully defended himself, but finally entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the fort, under the most solemn

Surrender
of Biána

* The history of Kamber Diwana is related at considerable length by the contemporary historians. Ali Kuli was entirely devoted to Biram, and the whole proceedings against Kamber have much the appearance of one of the violent acts of Biram, who probably, considering his occupation of the country and eccentric doings to be inconsistent with regular government, contrived to

effect his ruin, without appearing directly to thwart the Emperor. Kamber was buried in Bedaun, and his tomb was frequented as a place of pilgrimage down to a late period, by the lower classes, among whom his reputation and popularity were very great. See Akbernáma, f 96, Tár Akb f 168, Tár Bedauni, f 191, Briggs's, Ferishta, vol ii p 177

BOOK VII

A. D. 1555

Frequent
insubordi-
nation of
Humáyun's
officers.

assurances of personal safety No sooner, however, had Gházi Khan marched out, than Haider, burning with eagerness to possess the wealth which Biána was known to contain, shamefully violated his agreement, and put him to death with all his family, even to the children at the breast Humáyun, incensed at this act of perfidious cruelty, which he justly ascribed to avarice, instantly commissioned an officer of his household, known in the next reign as Sheháb-ed-dín Ahmed Khan, to proceed to Biána, to supersede Haider Muhammed in his government, and to place all his property under sequestration, which was done, but not before Haider had succeeded in embezzling some of the most valuable of Gházi Khan's jewels, substituting inferior ones in their place It must be allowed that the return of Humáyun into India was marked by many instances of insubordination and rapacity on the part of his officers They seem to have come back, thirsting after the riches of the land from which they had so long been banished, and eager to retrieve the time they had lost A stronger arm and a firmer purpose than Humáyun's were necessary, to restore the discipline of his hardy, but rapacious, followers

Revolt of
Mírza Su-
leimán in
Badakh-
shán.

While Humáyun was thus making extensive conquests in Hindustán, he suffered some loss of territory in the north We have seen that when he finally regained Kábul by the aid of Mírza Suleimán, that prince, by grant or by connivance, had added Kunduz, and several other provinces beyond the mountains, to his own principality of Badakhshán The neighbouring districts of Anderáb and Ishkemish were the jágir of Terdi Beg, for whom they were held by Mokím Khan, as his lieutenant They lay temptingly for the Mírza, who endeavoured to add them to his dominions by corrupting the fidelity of Mokím Failing in this attempt, he threw off the mask, and besieged him in Anderáb Unprepared for such an attack, Mokím contrived, nevertheless, to escape from

the fort which he could not defend, and succeeded in fighting his way to the hills, whence he returned to Kabul.

But the most important transactions of this period were those of the Penjab. When the Emperor marched from Lálhúr to oppose Sultan Sekander, he committed the management of the province to Ferikhat Khan as hákim or governor, with suitable officers to support him.* After the battle of Sirhend, when Sultan Sekander was threatening the Penjab from the Sewálík hills, to which he had fled, Humayun, as we have seen, sent Sháh Abul Málí to command the army opposed to him, with orders to proceed to Jalindher, and there to establish his head-quarters, to watch the Sultan's motions, and to prevent his entering the low country. Scarcely, however, had Abul Maali reached the Penjáb, when his native arrogance exceeded even its usual bounds. He assumed the deportment and pomp of a prince, acted in every respect like an absolute sovereign, and so despotically, as to disgust and alarm all the officers of government. Instead of remaining at Jalindher, as he had been ordered, he proceeded to Lálhúr. The Emperor's officers in authority there, having consulted together, agreed not to admit him into the city; but this resolution was not acted upon, and he speedily usurped all

Misconduct
of Abul
Maali in
the Penjáb

* Bāpús Khan was made fowjdār or military collector, Mirza Sháh Sultan, Amin or civil administrator, and Meliter Joulier (the Memoir-writer, and lately Humayun's ewer-bearer), treasurer of the Penjab and Multán. Some time before this, Humayun had appointed Joulier to be collector of Haibatpur-pati. The circumstances attending his introduction, when taking leave on setting out for his district, are illustrative both of the character of Humayun, and of the state of the public service. "My lad," said Humayun,

"listen to what I say,—A Moghul having been sent from the camp on a duty similar to yours, took two blankets from a Jat, and seeing the man's surprise, exclaimed, 'What, you rascal, am I not come to collect?' On hearing this insinuation, continues the ewer-bearer, I replied, that having had the advantage of pouring water on his Majesty's hands, for so many years, I would acquit myself with credit and honour. The Emperor replied, "Good comes of good, and evil of evil. Joulier's Mem. c. 29

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A D 1555.

the powers of the government. Humáyun, however, partial to his favourite, for a long time would listen to none of the complaints preferred against him, till he found that he had gone so far as to displace Ferkhát Khan, the Emperor's governor of Láhián, and to put a creature of his own in his place, and that he was squandering, with the wildest extravagance, the imperial treasure, and the revenues of the country. At length, the Emperor was plainly told that Abul Maali undoubtedly aimed at independence, an imputation in that turbulent age by no means improbable. To add to the other evils, Sultan Sekander, who hitherto had remained at Máinkót, collecting an army and taking into his pay all the mercenaries that were to be found, finding every check withdrawn, poured down his whole force into the Penjáb. Yet such was Humáyun's delicacy to the feelings of his favourite, that he superseded him only by giving the Penjáb to Akber, under the pretence that, as the imperial harem was about to pass through that country, he was the most proper person to be in command. Abul Maali was nominated to the charge of the imperial domain of Hissái Fúúza, which had been held by Akber, so that he seemed merely to have exchanged governments with the prince.

He is superseded by Prince Akber

Beginning of

A D 963

End of

A D 1555

But while the nominal authority in the Penjáb was given to the youthful Akber, the efficient power was vested in the stern Bám Khan, who attended him as his atálik or protector. It was about the end of the year when the prince and his governor set out. On reaching Sihend, the object of Akber's coming being well understood, he was joined not only by the troops from Hissái, but by many imperial officers of the highest rank, serving in the Penjáb under Abul Maali, who came uncalled and without leave, the prince's approach being hailed as a fortunate relief from the extremities to which they were driven by the favourite's overbearing and tyrannical conduct. They were all graciously received,

and the army being increased by the arrival of several bodies of troops from the neighbouring districts, proceeded across the Satlej to Sultánpúr on the Biah

The unmilitary movement of Abul Maali from Jalindher to Láhúr having left the low country along the hills defenceless, Sultan Sekander, having descended into the plains, was enabled to occupy, and collect the revenues of the pergunas, to a considerable distance around Abul Maali, never deficient in bravery or in spirit, assembled the troops that were nearest Láhúr, and advanced towards the enemy by slow marches, to give time to those at a distance to join him. He gained some advantages in the field, but as soon as Akber's approach was known, he was deserted by his principal officers, to whom he had become odious. He, therefore, retreated to Láhúr, whence being summoned to attend the prince, he found himself compelled, most unwillingly, to wait upon him at Sultánpúr, not long after his arrival. He was coldly received, but, humbled as he was, his presumption did not desert him. Akber, from consideration for his father's partiality to the Syed, invited him to dinner, graciously pointed out to him his seat, and treated him, as his guest, with all politeness and attention. On his return home from the party, he had the insolence to send a message to Akber, to say, that the prince was no stranger to the relation in which he stood to Humáyun, reminding him that when he dined publicly with the Emperor at the ring-hunt of Júi-Sháhi, the prince himself had seen that he sat on the same cushion, and eat out of the same dish with the Emperor, while the prince waited by, and dined afterwards on a portion sent to him whereas at the recent dinner, he had been placed on an ordinary rug, and served from a separate tray. The prince, smiling, bade the messenger go back and express his surprise that Abul Maali could not distinguish between the becoming etiquette of princes, and the familiarity of private attachment, and

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A D 1556

Who ex-
pels Sekan-
der ShahAccount re-
ceived of
the death of
HumáyunHumáyun's
plans for
the govern-
ment of the
empire

that, moreover, his pretensions betrayed an extreme ignorance of their relative situations Abul Maali's mortification was extreme Akbei, soon after, put his army in motion, and attempted to come up with Sultan Sekänder, who, on hearing of his approach, retreated into his mountain recesses, and once more pitched his camp at Mánkót

The army had reached Hariána in its advance, when it was overtaken by a messenger bringing Biram Khan information of an alarming accident that had befallen the Emperor, which rendered it inexpedient to move farther onward, or to commence active operations and the march of the army was directed on Kilánúr, to await the result As they approached that place, another express arrived bringing a despatch, said to be written by orders of the Emperor himself immediately after his accident, and giving good hopes of his speedy recovery But a third followed close after, with the authentic accounts of his death

From the time when Humáyun arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of the armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce different provinces He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it The plan which he projected was to separate the empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs Delhi, Agra, Kanáu, Juánpúr, Mándu, and Láhúr were among the capitals pitched upon To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others, while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about twelve thousand horse, which were to be under his own imme-

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faithful to evening prayer, and was preparing to sit down, out of respect, till the call was over, when his foot became entangled in the skirt of his mantle*, and the marble steps being smooth and slippery†, his staff slid, so that he lost his footing, was precipitated forward, and lighted on his head on the ground below. He was taken up insensible, was found to have received many bruises on his body, but in particular a violent contusion on the right temple, and a quantity of blood was observed to have oozed from his right ear. According to some accounts, he for a time recovered his speech. He lingered four days, being the greater part, or the whole of the time, in a state of insensibility, and expired on the evening of the 24th of January, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after a reign of rather more than twenty-five years ‡

Rebi I. 11
Jan 24

Which is
for a time
concealed

The heir apparent being at a distance, the great Amírs who possessed the chief influence very much dispersed, and the army still surrounded by formidable enemies, it was resolved by the nobles who were on the spot, to conceal this event till the suitable arrangements could be made. Expresses were immediately despatched to inform Akber of his father's death, and to call a meeting of the principal officers. The more effectually to lull suspicion, one Múlla Bekasí was dressed up in the imperial vestments, and presented to the public at the usual times, in an open gallery of the palace on the side next the river, which had been the late Emperor's

* *Postin*

† "The stairs" we are told by Mr Elphinstone (*History of India*, vol II p 175), "in such situations are narrow steps on the *outside* of the building, and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high," — "so that the King fell headlong over the parapet"

‡ Abulfazl, Joulier, and Ferishta make his death happen on the 11th

Rebi I the Tabakát-e Akberí, followed by the Tarikh-e Bedáuní, on the 15th Abulfazl (f 98) says that the Emperor, after his accident, sent a letter to Akber by Názir Sheikh Johi to inform him that he was doing well but this was probably a mere official intimation, issued for political purposes by those about his person

favourite seat, and where he was accustomed to receive the salutations of his subjects, who assembled in crowds below. For seventeen days the truth was unknown in Delhi. At last, on the tenth day of February, Terdî Beg, who officiated on the occasion as Amîr-al-omîa, a dignity to which he aspired, throwing off the mask, and attended by all the Amîrs of the surrounding districts who had repaired to head quarters, proceeded to the Grand Mosque, and caused the prayer for the Emperor to be recited in the name of Akber.

Rebî I 28
Feb 10

The announcement of the Emperor's death, circumstanced as affairs then were, produced great alarm and excitement all over the country, which the nobles, assembled at Delhi, used every means in their power to allay. When the rites and ceremonies attending the sepulture and mourning for the Emperor were over, the leading Amîrs hastened, each to his own government, to watch over the current of events, and to confirm the minds both of their own followers and of the natives of the country in their adherence to the new government. Terdî Beg Khan, as the most eminent of the ancient nobility and governor of Delhi, by a kind of election or recognition of the Amîrs who were on the spot, assumed the general direction of affairs. One of his first acts was to send the insignia of empire with the crown jewels to the young Emperor, accompanied by the officers of the household, the imperial guards, and Mîrza Abul-Kâsîm, the son of the late Kâmrân Mîrza, whose close alliance to the throne now made him an object of jealousy. The crisis was one of the deepest importance, for at that moment the conquest of India could be considered as only begun and three formidable rivals contended with the youthful Akber for the throne of Delhi.*

Alarm excited by this event.

Danger of the crisis.

* Akbernâma, ff 98, 99, Tar 178, Tar Bedauni, ff 189—192, Nizami, ff 205, 206, Jouher, Kholâset ul Towârikh, f 288, c 33, Ferishta, vol II pp 177, Khâfî Khan

The real character of Humáyun may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians, whose judgment was influenced, not only by that reverence with which Orientals regard the sovereign authority, but by a natural respect for the princes, his descendants, under whom they wrote. He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and unsteady. Personally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he overran, first, the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujrát, and next those of Behár and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions, but, destitute of those powers of combination which are as necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all, and the great part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions and anarchy, the fruit of his want of political firmness and determination. His disposition was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate, his manners polite, frank and winning. He had a ready wit, excellent in repartee, and, from the anecdotes recorded by his ever-bearer and other writers, seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes. But, though Haider Mirza, an excellent judge, speaks with much respect of his accomplishments, and of his talents and deportment as a prince, yet his generosity, guarded by no resolute sense of duty or steady feelings of self-respect, degenerated into prodigality, his attachments into weakness, and hence, down to the day of his death, he was the prey of flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited a fondness for literature and the

arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. Like many of the eminent personages of his age, he was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses, and Abulfazl mentions that

complete *diwân* of his composition was in the library of his son *. He is also said to have made no inconsiderable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronised such as were eminent in these sciences, and promoted several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose †. But a fatality seemed to attend even his merits. His astronomical knowledge was directed chiefly to the frivolous or pernicious doctrines of astrology and the occult sciences, and the course of his policy, as well as the actions of his ordinary life, was too often regulated by an absurd and childish attention to signs, omens and superstitious observances ‡.

An incident that occurred in his early years exercised a considerable influence on his mind. Going one day a-hunting with his tutor, Humâyun proposed to take an omen as to the fortune of his future life, from the names of the three first persons he should meet. The tutor suggested that he might content himself with the first alone, but the prince kept to his purpose. It happened, we are told, whether accidentally or by pre-arrangement, that the first was a decrepid old man called Muâid (Desire), the second, a man driving an ass loaded with firewood, was Doulat (Dominion), the third, who was found tending some cattle, was Saadet

* Specimens of his poetry are given by Ferishta and Khafi Khan, and may be found scattered over the works of other historians.

† Akbarnama, f. 100.

‡ He never, in entering or leaving

his house or mosque, put his left foot first, and if he observed any of his attendants do so, he called him left-handed, and made him go back, and advance again. *Iar Bed*

BOOK VII (Good Fortune, or Success); a coincidence which delighted the prince, and from which he was led confidently to augur the accomplishment of his aspirations for extended sovereignty. The impression thus made on him induced him, when on the throne, to institute an arbitrary classification of his whole court and household under three heads. His brothers and other near relations, his Amírs and officers of state, with all the military, he classed as Ahil-e doulat, or men of dominion, their aid being necessary for the attainment and exercise of power. Doctors and men learned in the law, divines, syeds and religious men, múllas, poets, and such as were skilled in the sciences and arts, were ranked as Ahil-e-saadet, men of good fortune, as their presence was supposed to bring as well as to intimate the existence of prosperity, while the beautiful and elegant females of his domestic establishment, singers, musicians, dancers and other ministers of enjoyment, were the Ahil-e-murád, the objects of desire, as affording the means of elegant and sensual gratification.

These arrangements he mingled with his astrological fancies *. He constructed an extensive pavilion, in the principal hall of which the revolutions of the spheres, the place of each constellation, especially the signs of the Zodiac and the course of the planets, were represented. It contained also seven spacious apartments, each called by the name of one of the days of the week and of its presiding planet. These were richly fitted up with carpets and hangings, of the colour which custom had appropriated to the presiding star of each day, two of these apartments, with two days of the week, being devoted to each of the three before-

* The astrological fancies entertained by Humáyun, and the doctrines regarding the chapels of the planets, and the corresponding dresses, mansions, days and seasons,

are very ancient. See Pocock's *Specimen Hist. Arabum*, pp 143—150, Oxon 1806. See also the *Dabistáne Mozáhib*, and the *Desátír*

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other professing to forward the means of redress, was commendable, and might be useful. But its revival in a more advanced age betrays an extreme want of legislative skill, and it must be confessed that in this, as in many other of Humáyun's regulations that have been noticed, there is a great want of plain practical sense, a pedantic application of inapplicable learning, and too great an appearance of playing at kings.

He was a good Mussulman, rigid in the observance of the stated prayers and ceremonial of the law. He was, however, strongly suspected of leaning to the Shia sect, partly from his patronage of many Persians, or Shias, of distinction, such as Biram Khan Abul Maali, and others, partly, perhaps, from the show of adherence to it which his political situation induced him to manifest when in exile in Persia.*

A floating palace several stories in height, with a garden and a bazar, or market, which he constructed at Agra on ships linked together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jamna, has been celebrated, and, as well as several other of his contrivances, evinces his fondness for the mechanical arts.

But though Humáyun was brave and good-tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered

* Such, we are told, was his reverence for the name of God, that he never pronounced it till he had performed the stated ablutions (wázu). One day he was observed to address Mír Abdalla Hai, the Sadr, or Chief Judge, by the abbreviated name of Mír Abdal. Having subsequently performed the legal purifications, "Excuse me, Mír," said he to the Sadr, "for not having a little ago given you your full name, but Hai being one of the names of God, I could not, situated as I then was, pronounce it."

Kámrán Mirza, who was a Sunni,

and fond of religious disputation, had frequent arguments with his brother on the differences between the two sects. The Sunnis treat the Shias as being heterodox. One day, as they were riding together, they observed a dog, an unclean animal, lift its leg irreverently against a tomb-stone. "The man who lies there must be a heretic" (rafzi) said Kámrán. "Yes," said the Emperor, "and the dog an orthodox brute." Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. II p. 179. We have seen that he was himself occasionally a persecutor of such as he called heretics.

on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a frivolity in his mind that neutralized his good qualities, and it is probable that, had he continued to fill his father's throne, he might have been the last emperor of India of his race. The bold, determined policy of Bīram Khan, so different from the weak and vacillating conduct of Humáyun, had its full sway after that prince's death, and, aided by the rising genius of Akber, established the empire of the family of Tāmūr on the foundation which it has maintained, with more or less splendour, down to our own times².

* Akbarn ff 97—100, Tab Akb ff 168, 169, Tar Niz ff 205, 206, Tar Bedauni, ff 191, 192, Briggs's *Herishta*, vol. II pp 177—180. Humáyun had deeply studied the religious and mystical poetry of the Persians, to which his warm feelings, and lively imagination, gave him a natural partiality. This bias may account for an incident related by historians who are willing to believe that he had some supernatural presentiment of his death. They tell us that though, through life, he could not bear to hear death spoken of, and even forbade its being mentioned in his presence, yet that, just before his last accident, he frequently started the subject himself, and took pleasure in listening to conversations upon it. He men-

tioned an occurrence that befel him at that time, and by which he was much affected. "I lately rose," said he, "after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest, when, just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses

"O Lord! of thine infinite goodness
make me thine own
Make me a partaker of the knowledge
of thy attributes
I am broken-hearted from the cares and
sorrows of life,
O call to thee thy poor madman (lover)!
O grant me my release!"

He is said often afterwards to have repeated these mysterious lines with deep emotion, while the tears gushed from his eyes.

SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

ON THE STATE OF GOVERNMENT AND MANNERS IN KÁBUL
AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES DURING THE REIGNS
OF BÁBER AND HUMÁYUN.

As the course of events has brought us to the reign of Akber, when the Chaghatái government was finally established in India, and took a form which, with little change, it retained for nearly two centuries, it may be proper to take a slight review of the state of government and manners during the two preceding reigns in Kábul and the surrounding countries, where Báber and Humáyun spent most of their time. Though a space of more than fifty years, it was in general a period of war and confusion, leaving little leisure for any legislative efforts, or for the cultivation of the arts of peace.

Govern-
ment and
regal eti-
quette.

The government was such as might be expected from a body of foreigners settling themselves by force in a country, with the inhabitants of which they had no sympathy but that of a common religion, and was necessarily military. Everything was directed by the will of the King, who was surrounded by his Amírs and great officers. He was nominally absolute, as in all Asiatic states. His court exhibited, or affected, a great appearance of splendour, and had nearly the same establishment of officers that had existed under the powerful princes of Samarkand and Khorásán. We find the Master of the Household, Master of the Horse, Grand Huntsman, Master of Requests and Chamberlains, with body and night guards—besides all the officers of the harem and female apartments. The prince, whether in the capital or the camp, held daily levees—in the one case, in the Great Hall, in the other, in the Pavilion or Tent of Audience, at which the Amírs and men of note,

dresses During the dinner, the guests were entertained by music, vocal and instrumental, by wrestlers, posture makers and jugglers, rarely perhaps, if ever, at that period to the west of the Indus, by dancers It was usual, on such grand occasions, to invest with khiláts those who had performed important public services, or whom it was meant to distinguish by the royal favour These khiláts generally consisted of a dress of honour, sometimes made of rich stuffs, of satin, velvet, cloth of gold, or adorned with embroidery, sometimes even of dresses that had been worn by the Sovereign himself, with various additions according to circumstances, shawls, sabres of fine workmanship with enamelled hilts, often enriched with jewels and precious stones, daggers, coats of armour, horses, and, occasionally, sums of money

The charm which the courts of happier countries derive from the presence of female society, was of course entirely wanting to that of Kábul The ladies of every rank were kept strictly to private apartments, which were accessible only to females, and eunuchs, and, at times, to very near relations

The court

The court was composed chiefly of the Amírs and Begs, who held the different provinces and districts of the kingdom, and of the officers of state and of the household Though the usual and official language was that of unreserved obedience to the prince, yet they formed a real check upon his power. The army which had effected the conquest was composed of many bodies of men of different races, who each followed a particular leader, generally the chief person of a tribe or family They were all soldiers of fortune, and regarded themselves as entitled to their share in the success Many of them had joined the King voluntarily with their tribe or followers, and considered themselves at liberty to withdraw, or to shift their allegiance, when displeased By means of combinations among themselves, they were

even able, on occasion, to overpower the monarch, who found it convenient, and indeed necessary, to keep them in good humour. Much, therefore, depended on the talents of the Sovereign. But even the romantic bravery and generous temper of Báber were not always sufficient to keep within the limits of duty haughty and ambitious tribesmen, who set a high, sometimes an inordinate, value on their own services, and dangerous revolts and rebellions occurred under both him and his son. There existed no hereditary nobility except in the heads of tribes, all was personal, and proceeded from the monarch. And even the men of tribes, when they had left their wilds, and, for a series of years, had lived in towns, or followed their individual pursuits, scattered over the country, felt less connection with their chief, who was compelled to look to local influence of another description for the support of his consequence. The power possessed by the leader of the tribe was thus gradually exchanged for that of governor of a province. This change was, of course, extremely favourable to the royal authority. But, though nobility was not hereditary, it generally continued to run very much in the same families, for the sons of Amirs and officers of note were generally, early in life, introduced at court by their fathers, and gradually promoted to situations of trust and influence.

The information we possess concerning the state of the provinces under the Kábul government is but scanty. They would seem to have been governed very much according to the form ascribed to the early feudal states. The leading men in the conquering army, or at court, were sent to the various provinces, attended by their old followers, and districts were assigned to them. Of the state of landed property we have few details. The former inhabitants were not expelled from their lands. The labour and skill of the peasant and farmer are necessary under every government, there were no

State of the
provinces.

capitalists who farmed on a large scale. Every village had probably, as in Persia, a *kilanter* or head man, and some village counsellors, who afforded a certain degree of protection and succour. The person appointed to the *jágir* settled himself on the spot, took possession of the forts and public buildings, and placed his immediate retainers in offices of trust within his government, probably, at the same time, assigning to them some allotments of land. Through them, though rarely by them, he collected the rents, or, more properly speaking, a share of the produce of the lands, and the public taxes, the measure and extent of which were often much at his discretion. As all powers, military, civil, and criminal, were vested in his person, the comfort, or misery, of the inhabitants was in his power, and was essentially influenced by his character. The complaint of a despised boor did not easily reach the court, and, if it did, was not likely, except in cases of crying and flagrant injustice, to be much attended to. And woe to the unhappy wretch who made a complaint, and afterwards returned under the power of his oppressor! Every governor was like an absolute prince while his power lasted. His chief danger arose from intrigues at court, where he was constantly obliged, either by his personal presence or through his friends, to maintain his influence. He was liable to be removed at any time at the pleasure of the King. It is plain that this system exposed the inhabitants to great extortions, and was, in many ways, unfavourable to the prosperity and improvement of the country. The governor, who held his office by an uncertain, and probably a short tenure, was anxious to make the most of his time, and apt to regard the possessions and property of the governed merely as the means of enriching himself and his dependents. The hen was too often killed for the golden egg.

The army

The army did not resemble that of European governments, divided into regular regiments and troops, with

officers each commanding and exercising a certain number of men dressed in a national uniform and paid by the state. It was composed of the immediate followers of the King, and of those of the great chiefs, attached to them from various considerations of family, or hope, or gratitude, and of portions of the tribes, as the Aimáks, Moghuls, Hazáras, under their native chiefs. Almost every man of rank had retainers, who attached themselves to him to share his good fortune, and his consequence depended on their bravery and number. Every leader had his standard, which marked his rank, the highest being that of the *túgh*, a standard surmounted by the flowing tail of the mountain cow, an object of great ambition, and granted only to a few. Round these standards they marched to battle, and round them they rallied, if broken. They had no uniform dress. Each wore that of his tribe or country, or such as he fancied.

Besides these greater leaders, there were independent warriors (*Ekkeha*) who joined the service, either alone, or with a few followers, as volunteer soldiers of fortune, some of whom rose to eminence.

The fighting men were in general Tartars, chiefly belonging to *Túrki* tribes, or descended of tribesmen, with some Persians and Aimáks. They consisted almost entirely of cavalry. The old inhabitants of *Kábul*, whether of the cities or plains, seldom adopted the trade of arms, but remained shopkeepers or peasants. A *Tájik* is sometimes, but rarely, mentioned as engaged in war.

The army gradually changed its form in progress of time. When the first generation of conquerors died away, local levies became common, and regular bands of mercenaries were formed. The earlier troops, having little or no pay, depended for their support chiefly on plunder, and the leaders looked to the command of dis-

tricts There was nothing like a standing force. The army was composed of local troops, with a few mercenaries raised on the spur of the occasion

When the royal army took the field, it was generally arranged in three divisions, centre, right wing, and left, with an advanced guard and reserve, and some flying pickets around. The household troops were generally placed in the centre, and officers of experience named to the command of each division. Their arms were the sabre and dagger, sometimes the bow and arrow, and the spear or mace. There were already some companies of matchlock-men in the army, who seem always to have been trained mercenaries. Cannon had also begun to be used; but they were heavy and unmanagable, used chiefly in sieges or in distant cannonades. Shír Shah seems to have been one of the first who brought them with effect into the field. In regular battles, the guns were frequently connected together by chains, or ropes of bulls' hides, which served as breast-works, behind which archers and matchlock-men were placed, to prevent the irruption of cavalry between the guns, especially during the rather long intervals between the discharge and re-loading of the ponderous ordnance

The fate of an action being generally decided by the sabre, plate and chain armour, and shields, were in use, with helmets, and sometimes chain-cloth coverings for the horse

Fortresses.

Their fortresses derived their strength from their situation on steep hills or grounds difficult of access, and from the height and thickness of their walls. They were sometimes regularly attacked by sap and battery, sometimes by mines, and defended by countermines. Night surprises, however, and assaults by scaling-ladders, were the most common modes of attack. Sometimes blockade was resorted to, and lines of circumvallation drawn round the place

The country had few large cities, Kábul, Kandahár, Ghazni and Pesháwer were the chief. The amount of their population is uncertain. The smaller towns and villages were numerous, as the peasantry did not live in scattered dwellings, but in villages surrounded by walls, as a refuge for themselves and their cattle, in case of any sudden attack, or against the rapacity of marauders. The larger towns were inhabited by tradesmen and artisans, merchants, shopkeepers, the guardians of mosques and religious foundations and their dependents, public and private teachers, and labourers. The streets were narrow and dirty, the exterior of the houses mean, any attempt at elegance being reserved for the interior. The houses of the more wealthy were built in one or more squares, opening within into a court or parterre surrounded by piazzas.

The principal buildings were the mosques and the tombs of the kings or holy men, and probably a few of the palaces of the kings. Some of the bazars were built at considerable expense, and with some elegance, and were frequently arched over, and closed at night by gates. There were also caravanserais, of which the large court within was surrounded by small apartments, usually with an upper story, and sometimes having a flat roof, in which merchants and traders could be accommodated, with their goods and cattle, on arriving from foreign parts.

The kingdom of Kábul was inhabited by many different races of men, and was composed chiefly of hill-country, with some rich plains. The greater part of the inhabitants of the hills were tribesmen, in a great measure independent and supported by their flocks. The peasantry and shepherds of the lowlands were in general Tájiks, the descendants of the old inhabitants of the country, and used the Persian tongue. They cultivated various grains, and reared some cattle, but

Large cities

Inhabitants

were much exposed to be plundered by the tribes of the surrounding hills

Adminis-
tration of
justice

As to the administration of justice, there was, properly speaking, no regular court of justice in the country, except that of the Kázi could be considered as such, which, however, was confined to questions of marriage, dowry and others arising out of the Muhammedan law. The jágirdáís, and under them their collectors, and, in the royal domains, the collectors or other officers of government, decided in all questions, civil and criminal. There was little form. The parties appeared in person to state their own cases, and inquiries followed, liable to much partiality and corruption. The lower officers could fine and inflict corporal punishment to a certain extent. The powers of life and death, and of inflicting larger fines, were reserved to the higher officers alone.

But while the officers of government administered equity, according to usage or their ideas of right (for laws of enactment, except those of the Koran, there were none), in the plains or what may be called the conquered country, the tribes that wandered over and pastured the large mountain tracts, or partially cultivated the richer valleys and cattle lands, were little visited by the Sovereign's officers, but maintained, in a great degree, their independence. They made some annual payments as tribute, and preserved their ancient usages and customs. Each had its acknowledged chief, and a council of the principal men of the leading families, who managed its affairs and decided controversies.

The most difficult cases were such as related to blood-feuds, which, however, were left to the revenge of the injured family, according to the principle of retaliation of the Muhammedan law, and when the price of blood could not be fixed, or was refused, the prosecution of private revenge frequently occasioned assassinations and feuds for several generations.

The religion of the country west of the Indus was the Musliman. This may be called the legal religion of the country, though, properly speaking, there was no establishment. The Muhammedans have no state-establishment of their religion, which, however, they consider as the only true faith, and as not given to them only, but to the whole world. They have no order of priesthood, as in patriarchal times, every father of a family is its priest. Everywhere, indeed, mosques often of great magnificence, have been built for public use, and endowed often with extensive lands for their support, and that of the servants of the mosque. But this has been done by private piety, and not by the state, which makes no general provision for the celebration of religious services, or the extension, or purity of religious instruction. Yet, in no country does religion present itself more to the eye of the observer, or seem more deeply and habitually to influence individuals of every rank. Every mosque has its guardian, generally some descendant of the founder. The faithful are daily summoned five times to prayer by the voice of the mozzin from the minaret of the mosque. Some Mullā, or man of supposed piety, acts as Peshnamaz, by reciting the stated prayers, the congregation repeating them along with, or after him, and carefully following him in all the bendings and humble prostrations which he makes at the proper parts of the service, towards the kibleh, which marks the position of Mekka. He is qualified for his office by no imposition of hands, or other ceremony, but owes the preference he enjoys, to his piety, the favour of the guardian of the foundation, or the silent adherence of the people. His office confers, or implies, no supernatural effusion of sanctity, or of spiritual gifts. He may quit his situation at will, and return, like any other man, to the business of the world.

Men of
learning
and piety

I recollect no mention of any colleges founded in Kábul for the instruction of students in the sacred or profane sciences, though such were common, and often very magnificent, in Máwerannaher, in Khorásán and in India. But there were always men of learning and piety, who devoted themselves, as private guides, to the teaching of others, and when they acquired reputation, numbers flocked to them for the benefit of their lessons. The ordinary schools taught the pupils who frequented them, to read and write the Arabic and Persian languages, with something of accounts. Men often read the Koran in Arabic, and recited their prayers in the same tongue, without knowing one word of the meaning, but, in so doing, they performed a religious duty. The superior instructors devoted themselves to various employments, such as teaching the artificial mode of reading the Koran, with its sacred intonations, delivering lectures on its import, and expositions of the hidden or recondite meaning of its texts, and the mystical sense of its facts and doctrines. The various teachers and various schools, of course, took different views of God and nature, some leading to the wildest enthusiasm and bigotry, others to the humblest piety. The mystical tendency of their speculations, directed to the annihilation of self and the exaltation of the Deity, often ended with a long course of metaphysical meditations on the doctrine of the non existence of matter, and the non-entity of everything, except the Divinity. One of the most remarkable of these schools is that of the Sufis, which seems to terminate in a refined philosophical deism or pantheism, yet has produced volumes of the most beautiful poetry. The disciples of these meditative schools, whom research and reflection had rendered tolerant, lived retired, and mixed little in the world. But the men destined for public life, who had studied only the Koran and its observances, with the traditions of the prophet, were distinguished above all others for their intolerant

natives of the kingdom of Kábul, some of the hill tribes excepted. The doctrines of the Shíás were introduced from Arabia, and diffused chiefly in Persia, and by the Persian conquests in Khorásán and elsewhere. There were some Kizelbásh, or Persian Shíás in Kábul. The hatred of the partizans of the two sects towards each other was often extreme.

Almost every man had his spiritual guide, whom he consulted in his difficulties and doubts, and by whom he was much influenced in his conduct. Men eminently distinguished for piety were supposed to be sometimes visited by gleams of divine light, and though the Mahomedans are unitarians of the strictest kind, admitting of no partner to God, yet such men were revered after death, and pilgrimages were made to their tombs.

Literature

Kábul could not be said to have any native literature or science. It appropriated, and imitated, that of the Persians. The poems of Ferdausi, Háfez, Sádi, Jámi and the other great Persian poets, were familiar to every man of education. But though the country produced no great poet, many individuals, some of the highest rank, wrote agreeable verses, and a taste for poetry was fashionable with every class. The subjects were generally love and religion. One is sometimes surprised to see so much tenderness and respectful delicacy of feeling, flowing from the pen of sturdy warriors, and addressed to females, who were shut up, and guarded, as prisoners and slaves. But war, which calls out and exercises many of the higher parts of our nature, is not necessarily hostile to the gentler affections, and, in every situation of life, nature vindicates her rights. This was the age of the great historians, Mír Khwánd and Khwánd Amír, who wrote chiefly in Khorásán, but, except Báber's own Commentaries, we know of no historical work produced in Kábul.

Sciences.

The sciences, like the literature, of Kábul were bor-

rowed from those of the Arabs and Persians, but little proficiency and no improvement was made in them. Some few studied mathematics and astronomy chiefly as subservient to astrology, in which all were believers, and the marches of armies, and the movements of kings were directed by the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies. No journey or march was undertaken, no great work begun, but at the hour fixed by the astrologer.

Their medicine, where it was not empirical, they borrowed from the Arabs, and they, probably from constant experience, possessed considerable knowledge in the treatment of wounds.

Of their architecture we learn little. It was probably borrowed from Herât and Samarkand. Some of the tombs still remaining are said to possess considerable elegance. The times were too turbulent to admit of attempting many of the works of peace, and means were not found to restore even the noble reservoirs and water-courses, constructed in earlier times for irrigating and enriching the country, but which had fallen into decay.

To estimate the condition of morals, and the degree of happiness or comfort existing in such a state of society, is never an easy task. The practice of polygamy, accompanied, as a necessary consequence, by the seclusion of women, and the existence of slavery, which are common to all Musulman countries, have always a powerful and demoralizing influence on manners. But the plurality of wives and concubines is nearly confined to the upper ranks, and the more wealthy, and though the evil consequences of the practice are felt, in the undue importance and the prominence given to the sensual passions, in the debasing effects of jealousy and mistrust on the character, in the mischief of entrusting the education of the rising generation, the young of both sexes, to the nurture of women, totally strangers to the business and the virtues of active life, and in

Architec-
ture

State of
morals

addition to this, in the endless discords and enmities, which the claims of rival mothers introduce into the bosom of families ; yet, being avowed and sanctioned by the law, it is attended with none of that degradation of feeling and character that attends the pursuit of promiseuous debauchery, or of unlawful concubinage, when the sense of duty is overpowered by the influence of a passion acknowledged to be guilty, and the indulgence is pursued with the feelings of a criminal, who is conscious that he is breaking the law. The connection of wife and concubine are equally lawful, and alike recognized by the Musulman religion, and the issue of both have their shares in the succession. The practice of slavery appears to have been confined to domestic slavery, a condition, in the East, in which the slave is generally treated as a favoured and confidential servant, often as a child of the family. We find no traces of agricultural servitude. The lower ranks seem all to have been free. Their wives were more fortunate than those of their superiors, since their duties required them to move about, and probably sometimes to assist in field-labour.

Condition
of the
higher
ranks,

The higher ranks, who lived in the possession of comparative wealth and plenty, seem to have had the usual and almost necessary virtues of their station — bravery and liberality towards the dependents and followers who formed their strength. They were generally hardy, and with some skill in war, which was their trade, but was practised rather in the way of foray and skirmish than of regular tactics. Having the virtues and the vices of adventurers, they were not uniformly steady in their allegiance and fidelity to their Sovereign, their adherence to whom they considered as a matter to be regulated by considerations of mutual convenience, in which they were too often directed by notions of mere temporary expediency. Some of them we have seen were men of talent and generosity, and

many had some taste for liberal studies, and delighted in the Persian and Turki poets and moralists

The great body of the inhabitants, agricultural and pastoral, were probably a good deal oppressed. The exactions of government joined to the constant march and devastation of armies and the plundering incursions of the hill tribes, must have left them little that they could call their own. There was indeed, generally, some castle, or walled town, to which they could, in such cases, retire. But they were nevertheless, often taken by surprise, when their fumes and cattle, and hoards of grain were liable to be carried away, and their standing corn trampled down, or consumed by the horses of the invaders. But, even in the most unfavourable circumstances there is an elasticity and spring in the human mind that long resist the pressure of the heaviest calamity. Oppression is never, indeed directly favourable to the moral habits. Where force cannot be opposed to it, it calls up artifice and cunning. But it also sometimes calls up the nobler passions. The bonds of union between the members of communities and the members of families, are drawn closer by their sufferings, and by their exertions to avert them. The generous affections are brought actively into play, united efforts are made to oppose the common enemy, great sacrifices are submitted to for the sake of one mother, the disinterested and domestic affections duly gain strength in the midst of suffering, and through the very agency of suffering. Men become more affectionate parents, more attached children and friends, and better members of the little community. There are little numberless pleasures that the eye of oppression cannot detect, or its hand interrupt. History in general gives little information as to the daily employment, and feelings of the great body of the lower classes, but, in this instance, what little can be gleaned, is not unfavourable

and of the
people

These remarks of course apply chiefly to the inhabitants of the plains, the inhabitants of the hills and mountains preserved their old independence unchanged

Revenue

As to the revenue, its extent and nature, we know little. The principal was probably a land-tax, which from the mountaineers was levied in the form of tribute. Báber informs us that the revenue of Kábul from both these sources was only eight laks of Sháhrukhis, or about 33,333*l* 6*s* 8*d*. In addition to this, there were the tumgha, or custom duties, on all cattle, sheep and other articles brought into the country, and probably some transit duties and shop duties. There were, besides, the péshkeshes, and other offerings made to the prince on festivals and other great occasions. These consisted in money, horses, rich cloths and other rarities, and, though part of them went out again in the form of khiláts and gratifications to favourite servants, the surplus in the king's favour was probably considerable. At the same time the revenue of Kábul was never great. Báber, soon after he conquered Kábul, levied on Kábul and another district, a contribution of thirty thousand loads of grain (kharwai) to distribute among the tribes who had accompanied him in his conquest, but the burden was found to be too great, he tells us, and the country suffered extremely.

Absence of free institu- tions

The fixed and stationary condition of all large Asiatic kingdoms, which, from the first traces of history to the latest times, exhibit only the purely despotic form of government, has naturally excited the attention of all readers of history. No progress seems ever to have been made towards free or liberal institutions, or if any liberal laws or regulations were made under a good or great monarch, they totally disappear in the reign of his successor. Nothing is stable, but the absolute will of the sovereign. The great difficulty of obtaining anything like free or permanent institutions lies in this very

to support and maintain these checks. Thus, in England, the power of the nobles never could have been brought as an effective check upon the power of the king, had they not been of hereditary rank, and accustomed to meet together in parliament and elsewhere, as a recognized body, in a word, to consider themselves as a political corporation, having rights. They might, otherwise, have formed combinations and leagues, and engaged in rebellions and commotions, but these, if successful, would have terminated to the advantage of one or two of the chief leaders, not of the nobles as a body opposed to the king. Their rank, being hereditary, gave them both permanence and cohesion, and enabled them to act in concert for the common interest. But in the East, nobility is only personal. Except where there are tribes, the personal influence of any individual is small. The nobles hold no assemblies as a separate body, and have no duties to perform as such. They cannot, therefore, combine or act in union, but by rebellion. There are no public institutions (not religious), in which they, or any other subjects of the state, meet for deliberation on ministerial or any other public purposes, no county meetings, no boards of justices, no juries, no town meetings. The means of combining, or of coming to a common understanding, are, therefore, limited. Absolute princes never favour the growth of privileges to nobles, or cities, or districts, they are more willing to destroy these rights. They centralize every thing, and make every thing depend on their own will and pleasure. Thus, were a movement to take place, even for the most beneficial objects, no hereditary leader can be found, no political body to assist, no permanent institution to give security to the object if attained. It is a rebellion which, if successful for the moment, falls away of itself, like a house built on sand, and leaves not a trace behind. Thus such despotic governments do not afford the fulcrum to sup

port the political lever, and the force is applied in vain. Inferior, internal political institutions, scattered over the country, or means of consultation and combination among powerful hereditary chiefs, are necessary, as checks to absolute power. They cannot long exist, without bringing a considerable degree of freedom in their train. Counties, and the public meetings they produce, towns, parishes, corporations, and, at a later period courts of law and juries, are the great elements of liberty. They bring men together, make them reason, and accustom them to act with foresight, with moderation, and in concert. The Mahomedan governments of the East have only two checks, the dangerous one of rebellion — and the power of religion and popular opinion, or custom, represented, sometimes successfully, sometimes without effect, by the Ulema, the heads of the religion and law. But revolution produces a change of governors, not of government. Any effectual change must go deeper, and begin with the fundamental elements of civil and political society. Yet, now that the Janissaries are gone, the Ulema is perhaps the nearest approach to a corporation of any body in Turkey.

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